Eighty-eighth Year. Tros Tyriusque mihi nullo discrimine agetur. Vol. 175: No. 1.

THE

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW

EDITED BY GEORGE HARVEY.

July, 1902.

The Storage Battery and the Motor Car . THOMAS A. EDISON

Effect of the Steamship Merger on American Shipbuilding, CHARLES H. CRAMP

The Three Francescas . . . . . EDITH WHARTON

Personal Influence of the Kaiser on German Public Life, WOLF von SCHIERBRAND

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Strikes and the Public Welfare . . . . . JOHN HANDIBOE

Cecil Rhodes . . . . . H. CUST, M.P.

Defects and Abuses in our Postal System.—II. H. A. CASTLE, *Auditor for the Post-Office Department.*

Why is an Isthmian Canal not Built? . . . LEWIS M. HAUPT

National Debts of the World.—XI. Public Debt of Prussia, Dr. ADOLPH WAGNER, *Professor of Political Economy in Berlin University.*

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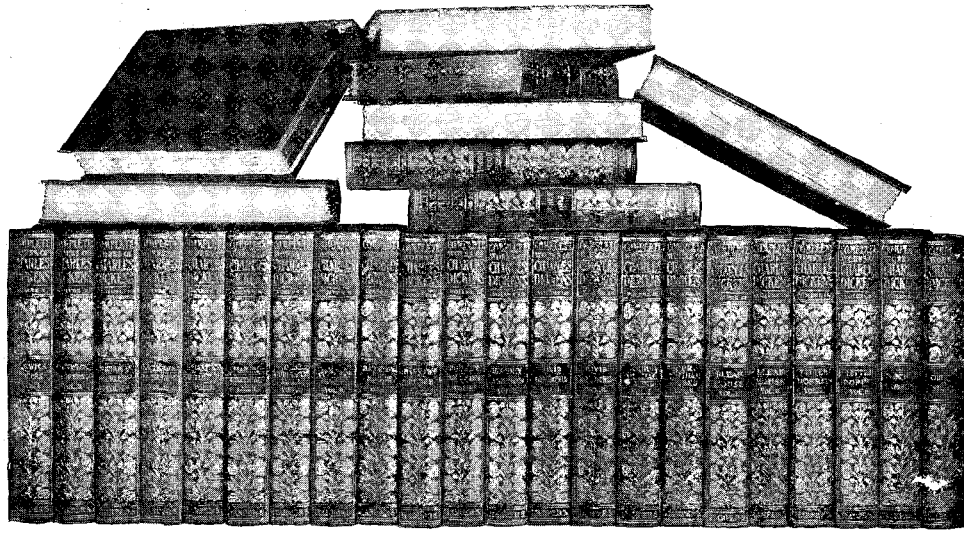

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CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS NUMBER.

THOMAS A. EDISON,

whose fame as an electrician and inventor has gone around the world, was born in Milan, Ohio, in 1847. His educational opportunities were limited in the extreme. His mother gave to his instruction such time as she could spare, and he supplemented her teaching by the reading of books which were accessible to him. At the age of twelve he began the work of life as a news-boy on the Grand Trunk Railway, and he devoted much of his spare time to the study of telegraphy. He soon became an expert operator, in which capacity he was employed at various places in the United States and Canada. At Adrian, Michigan, he fitted up a small shop for repairing telegraph instruments and for the making of new machinery. Thence he went to Indianapolis and Cincinnati, and eventually he came to the East with established reputation as a successful inventor, locating his workshop at Newark, New Jersey. In 1876, he determined to give his entire time to research and invention, and removed to Menlo Park and, later, to West Orange in the same State. Mr. Edison's inventions are to be numbered by scores. They include machines for quadruplex and sextuplex telegraphic transmission, the carbon telegraph transmitter, the microtasimeter (for detecting small changes in temperature), the megaphone, the phonograph, the aërophone, the incandescent lamp and light system, the kinetoscope, etc. In recognition of his services to the world, the French Government made him Chevalier, officer and afterwards commandant, of the Legion of Honor.

CHARLES H. CRAMP

is a native of Philadelphia. Having graduated at the Central High School of that city, he resolved to become a ship-builder, and applied himself to the learning of the ship-building trade, with the aim of mastering it in all its branches. He was in time admitted as a partner of the firm of William Cramp & Sons, and he is now president of the William Cramp & Sons Ship and Engine Building Co., the largest ship-building enterprise in the United States, which has built many of the finest naval and merchant vessels now afloat.

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EDITH WHARTON,

the successful novelist, was born in New York City. She comes of Revolutionary stock, being descended from General Ebenezer Stevens, who was one of the "Boston Tea Party," fought throughout the War of the Revolution, and was in command of the American artillery during the siege of Yorktown. Her first book, "The Greater Inclination" appeared in 1899, and since then she has published "The Touchstone," "Crucial Instances," and "The Valley of Decision."

WOLF VON SCHIERBRAND

was the subject of a note in the number of the REVIEW for March of this year, to which he contributed an article on "Germany's Political Turning-Point."

KARL BLIND,

who has been for many years an honored contributor to the REVIEW, was born at Mannheim, in Germany, in 1826. He studied jurisprudence at Heidelberg and Bonn; and, fired even in his earliest years by an ambition to further the cause of political liberty, he became notorious as a leader of revolutionary movements among students and populace. He was prominent as an agitator in connection with the uprisings of 1848 and 1849, and having been captured through the treachery of some comrades, he was sentenced to eight years' imprisonment. The people, however, taking advantage of a favorable opportunity, broke open the gaol and set him free. In 1852, he took refuge in England after a short residence in Belgium, and thence he has carried on a Democratic and National German Propaganda. He has published a number of political writings and essays on history, mythology, and Germanic literature which have appeared in Germany, England, America, and Spain.

T. V. POWDERLY

was born in Carbondale, Pennsylvania, in 1849. Leaving the public school in his thirteenth year, he went to work as a switch-tender, and in two years he was promoted to be a car-repairer. After several years spent in learning the machinist trade, he went to Scranton, Pennsylvania, in 1869 to work as a machinist. In 1878, he was elected Mayor of Scranton on the Labor ticket, and he was re-elected in 1880 and 1882. In 1879, he became General Master-Workman of

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the Knights of Labor, and, though he resigned that office in 1893, he is still a member of the Order. Having studied law, he was admitted to the bar of Lackawanna County, Pennsylvania, in 1894, and to the bar of the Supreme Court of the United States in 1901. In 1897, President McKinley appointed Mr. Powderly Commissioner-General of Immigration.

M. W. Hazeltine.

A note regarding this accomplished critic will be found in the Review for March, 1900, which contained an article from his pen on "The Hay-Pauncefote Treaty."

Vernon Lee

is the pen-name of Miss Violet Paget, an English writer and critic who has lived for a number of years in Italy. She has written much on the history of the arts, literature, and drama of Italy. Among her published works are "Studies of the Eighteenth Century in Italy," "Belcaro" (essays on various æsthetical questions), "Ottilie, an Eighteenth Century Idyl," "Euphorion" (a collection of essays), "Miss Brown," "The Phantom Lover," "Hauntings," and "Althea."

John Handiboe

contributed an article to the Review for August, 1900, in which he advocated the election of the President of the United States by direct popular vote. He is a member of the staff of a leading Philadelphia journal, which he joined after a long and brilliant editorial career in the capital of Pennsylvania.

Henry Cust

was the subject of a note in the Review for February, 1900, on the occasion of his contributing an article entitled "A Justification of England's Course" in dealing with the South-African situation. Mr. Cust was an intimate personal friend of the late Mr. Cecil Rhodes.

Henry A. Castle.

A note regarding Mr. Castle will be found in the Review for last month.

Lewis M. Haupt

is an engineer of long experience. He began active work on the Hoosac Tunnel line in 1858. In 1863, he was appointed by President Lincoln to a cadetship at West Point,

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and he graduated at the Military Academy in 1867 in the Corps of United States Engineers, in which he served for two years. Having left the army for civil life, he filled the chair of Civil Engineering in the University of Pennsylvania for twenty years, during a portion of which time he was also in charge of the Geodetic Surveys of Pennsylvania under the Coast Survey. In 1892, he resigned his professorship and was appointed Canal-Commissioner of Pennsylvania. When the Nicaragua and Isthmian Canal Commission was appointed, Professor Haupt was nominated a member of that body. He has made the problem of improving deep-water channels by natural agencies his special study, and he has developed a system for the removal of ocean bars which has secured the highest endorsements of maritime experts and learned societies. He has written many monographs on social and economic topics, and is a member of a number of scientific, engineering, literary, and other societies.

DR. ADOLPH WAGNER.

A note regarding Dr. Wagner was published in the number of the REVIEW for last month.

NOTES.

The quotation from President Schurman which was embodied in Mr. Carnegie's article on "The Opportunity of the United States" in the May number of the REVIEW, was taken from an article written by President Schurman for *Gunton's Magazine*.

By a typographical error, the amount of raw cotton annually imported by Great Britain from the United States was represented in Mr. Whelpley's article on "America's Control of England's Food Supply," in the last number of the REVIEW, as being 150,000,000, instead of 1,500,000,000 pounds.

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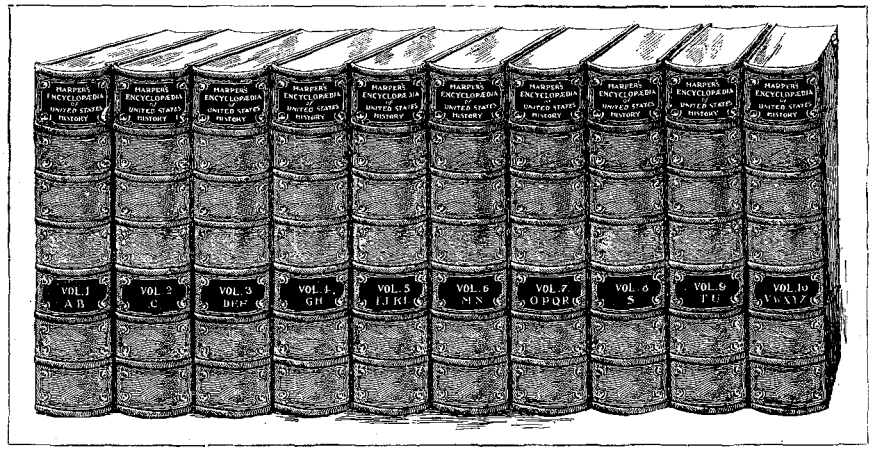
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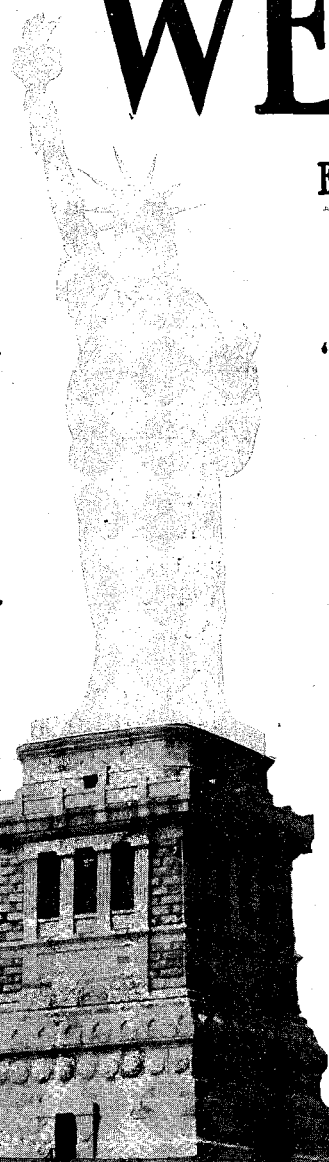

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HARPER'S WEEKLY

VOL. XLVI. *New York, Saturday, July 5, 1902—Illustrated Section* NO. 2368

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NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

No. DXLVIII.

JULY, 1902.

THE STORAGE BATTERY AND THE MOTOR CAR.

BY THOMAS A. EDISON.

THE final perfection of the storage battery, which I believe has been accomplished, will in my opinion bring about a multitude of changes and improvements in our business and social economy. No one of these will interest the public more just now than the doing away with the chauffeur, the irresponsible instrument, in the public eye at least, of so many recent accidents with automobiles.

Of the new storage battery, which was admirably described in *Harper's Weekly* last December, and about which a great many erroneous and unauthorized statements have since been made, I can now say that it has sustained and overcome the four thorough tests applied to it, and it is now, at this writing, undergoing the fifth, and last, with every prospect of the same result.

These four tests, which I will describe briefly, and this fifth now in progress, point to the new nickel-iron battery as being in fact the only real storage battery known. The attempts to compare its performance with those of the lead storage batteries, so called, now in use in automobiles and elsewhere for lack of something better, make it not improper to declare the facts. A real storage battery must be reversible, like a dynamo, which converts power into electricity and *vice versa*.

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A storage battery, to deserve the name, should be a perfectly reversible instrument, receiving and giving out power like a dynamo motor, without any deterioration of the mechanism of conversion. The present lead storage battery in an automobile does not meet this condition. It gradually becomes less and less efficient and in a few months wholly inoperative. The acid environment prevents a proper mechanical construction, its chemical reactions are of the most capricious character; it must be watched and treated with great care—so great care, indeed, as to make it impracticable for general use. It can be made, as far as mere weight is concerned, of sufficient lightness to meet all the wants of commerce and pleasure; but, if made light, it rapidly becomes useless.

On the other hand, the nickel-iron storage cell has an ideal environment. Being in an alkaline solution, none of the ingredients is attacked by the solution in any degree. The chemical reactions are also of the most simple and stable character. The conditions permit of a perfect mechanical construction, and, finally, it remains uninjured under any condition which one could imagine, when in the hands of an inexpert. The weight can be made to meet every exigency of commercial vehicle traction, and up to the present time there are no signs of chemical deterioration, even in a battery which has been charged and discharged over 700 times.

I have been working for a number of years on the problem of a true storage battery. The experiments have been continuous for the past three years. The above may be considered the first stage.

Tests on the battery have been going on for over a year and a half; this was the second stage.

The construction of chemical works and a manufacturing plant for the cells was the third stage.

The manufacture of standard cells from the tools is the fourth stage.

Twenty-one cells made in the factories, weighing 332 pounds, were placed in a Baker automobile, the total weight with two men in the vehicle being 1,075 pounds. The vehicle made a run, on one charge, of sixty-two miles over country roads, containing many grades, some as steep as twelve feet in a hundred. At the end of this run the vehicle was making eighty-three per cent. of the original speed. The average speed over the entire distance

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was 11.2 miles per hour. On a comparatively level country road a little heavy from a recent rain, the same vehicle on one charge came to a stop at the eighty-fifth mile.

In spite of assertions to the contrary, I think the storage battery carriage, by the aid of the new battery, will come ultimately within the reach of the man of moderate means. Driving through the many miles of streets in the suburbs of New York, I have been impressed with the fact that something like eighty per cent. of the residences have no carriage houses. The storage battery carriage, with the new battery, should enable the owners of forty per cent. of these residences to have a serviceable pleasure vehicle at their beck and call, without hiring a coachman to keep it clean and run it, with no horses to eat their heads off and no oats and hay to buy. With an initial outlay of from $700 and upwards, the storage battery automobile can be used once a week at the cost of a fifty-cent charge, or twice for a dollar, and so on, the cost of use being met as it is incurred and so ceasing to be the bugbear that fixed charges must always be to the householder of moderate income.

For safe and successful use, the automobile must, in my opinion, be made with heavier running gear, on the lines of the later French automobiles. Especially should stability be secured in the wheels and frame; the superstructure may be made gauzy. It seems likely that two general types of electric carriage will be developed, a light buggy type and a heavier touring carriage, the battery varying accordingly.

The French types of electric carriages come nearer to my ideas in strength and stability than any other models. This result has been attained, of course, only by experience. At first I was inclined to the opinion that the French machines were abnormally heavy; but when I study out the concussions and strains to which they are subjected, my inclination is to make the touring carriage even heavier still. It is surprising to me that American builders have not more closely followed these French models, since experiments costing millions must have been made to reach the present stage.

We hear of fewer automobile accidents in France and in Europe generally than in our own country, and they are fewer in spite of heavy types of carriages. One reason for this is that in Europe there are wider roads and less traffic; another is that the public

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have been educated up to the situation. The electric carriage of the future, and of the near future, will in my opinion not only supersede other types of automobiles, but it will be built and run on such practical lines that accidents will soon become things of the past. Horse owners and drivers will educate their animals, as in old times they had to be educated up to the steam engine and later to the trolley car. The electric carriage will be practically noiseless and easily stopped in an emergency. Above all, it will need no irresponsible chauffeur.

The fifth endurance test of the nickel-iron battery, which is demonstrating that the storage battery is indeed an accomplished fact, is now being made with five different models of automobiles, in each of which the new cells have been installed. They are of various weights and construction, and each of them is being run 5,000 miles over country roads, at an average distance of 100 miles per day.

If these tests shall show no loss of capacity and no mechanical defect in the battery, and that it is in all respects exactly the same at the end as at the commencement, we can be reasonably assured that at last we have a real storage battery.

THOMAS A. EDISON.

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THE STEAMSHIP MERGER AND AMERICAN SHIPBUILDING.

BY CHARLES H. CRAMP.

ALMOST every mail brings to me from all sorts of sources—individuals, financial institutions, newspapers, etc.—the question, in sundry forms: "What effect is the so-called Steamship Merger likely to have upon the future of shipbuilding in this country?" It is impracticable to answer all these inquiries separately; and therefore it has occurred to me that the best way would be to reply to them in bulk, through an article accessible to everybody.

I am not familiar with the detailed plans of the new organization of steamship lines, and my views of it are necessarily based, therefore, upon such information as has been already to a great extent laid before the reading public. I assume, however, that generally or in outline the impressions which the public has derived from what has been printed, either by authority or otherwise, are correct; and I see in the situation no cause for alarm either to the American ship-builder or ship-owner or to the people in this country who rely upon transatlantic steamship lines to transport their products abroad, provided our Government will take adequate measures to meet the policy already operating in Germany and Great Britain.

I am sure that it is not the intention of those who control or are to control the merged lines to raise materially the prices of ocean freights either way. Their object is rather to maintain a uniform rate or schedule of rates, and to add to their profits by the general reduction of operating expenses; also to prevent the ruinous rate wars which have occurred under the old régime. If they can establish and maintain a uniform schedule of rates upon which shippers may confidently rely for a long time in advance, they will confer a substantial benefit upon the commercial public.

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Coming now to consider its effect upon shipbuilding in this country, I may say that it is commonly reported and generally believed that part of the arrangement under which the merger has been formed is an agreement that all of the new vessels to be built abroad from time to time for the combination shall be constructed at the great Belfast ship-yard of Harland & Wolff, now under the management of the famous British architect, Mr. Pirrie. Such an agreement or understanding is a proper thing in such premises. The Belfast ship-yard is among the first of the best foreign yards, and vessels built in a single yard and under the same management must be more nearly homogeneous in design and structure, and better in all respects, than they would be if constructed promiscuously in all sorts of ship-yards and by people of varied capabilities. The Belfast concern, however, extensive as it may be in plant and organization, would hardly be able to keep up, at the highest standard of efficiency, the number of ships that the great new merger will need. The agreement with the Belfast concern, therefore, will by no means prevent the management of the merger from building some of their ships in the United States, if a section of the management is to be, as it ought to be, American, and if our Government will enact legislation which will enable any American to build and operate ships under the American flag as favorably as under foreign flags.

But, even apart from this consideration, it can easily be shown, or must logically appear, that it would be of the greatest importance to the success of the new company to stimulate energy and ingenuity abroad by building American ships, whose performance and quality would be put in competition or in comparison with those built abroad. I have no doubt that some sort of an American section, or department, or subordinate company, will be maintained in the organization of the merger. This is a natural supposition, because the American traveller is a most important factor in the patronage of steamship lines, and many, if not most, Americans prefer, all other things being equal, to patronize vessels of their own nationality rather than those built abroad.

The question involved is, from one important point of view, historical; that is to say, it cannot be clearly understood nor can the causes which brought it about be distinctly measured without reverting to certain incidents in the history of transatlantic construction and navigation which may be said to mark eras.

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The supremacy in the ocean-carrying trade which Great Britain had begun to attain at the outbreak of our Civil War, and which was made overwhelming during that war and for eight or ten years afterwards, was really the result of the stimulus given to her energies and her apprehensions by the organization of the American Collins Line. This line, some years before the outbreak of the Civil War, revolutionized the ocean steam-transit of that day. It was the result of a policy of assistance or subvention by our Government. The English had already adopted that policy and had applied it principally, so far as American trade was concerned, to the line founded by the late Samuel Cunard.

When the Collins Line was put on, the British were thoroughly alarmed and, it might be said, stampeded. Their Government increased the subsidy of the Cunard Line to an extent which enabled Mr. Cunard to add to his fleet of four ships already built at the rate of another and a better ship each year. Our Congress, on the contrary, in a freak of partisan politics, got into a quarrel over the subsidy question which resulted in the withdrawal of its assistance from the Collins Line, and in consequence that line collapsed, leaving not even a vestige of its existence. The British, however, continued to build new ships and establish new companies, although little, if any, advance was made in the type of ships they built or in their performance. However, as they had no competition on the part of the Americans, and as the Continental steamship lines were either not extant or in very feeble embryo at that time, the British were not compelled to improve upon the quality or performance of their ships; but they went on making their own freight and passenger rates and, in general, commanding all the trade and all its benefits, including the extremely important one of controlling the markets which they supplied.

Things remained in this condition until 1870-1871, when the announcement was made that an American Company had been formed with the intention of building four ships, which were to be superior to any that the British then had. These ships were built by the Cramps and were known as the "*Pennsylvania,*" "*Ohio,*" "*Indiana*" and "*Illinois.*"

The prime requirement of these vessels was that they were to beat the British "*City of Brussels,*" then the crack Atlantic greyhound in the British fleet. This was the beginning of the second era, and we had precipitated another panic upon our British

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friends. Every one of the principal British companies then existing started at least two new ships, each of larger dimensions, of greater passenger accommodations and of higher speed than the four American ships. They also re-cast their subsidy system, so as to make it much more effective than it had been before.

Among their expedients in this direction was the Naval Reserve Subvention, the operation of which is well known.

In the mean time our Government did nothing for the new American line. Its ships, however, struggled along; they were extremely popular, notwithstanding the efforts of the British to outdo and supersede them. They made eight-day passages and, for their day, they were exceedingly comfortable, stanch and safe seaboats. Part of their economy of performance was due to the use of compound-engines, which had been recently introduced at that time. This type of machinery was adopted also by the White Star Company in its first ship, the old "*Oceanic*," and in the National Line steamer "*Italy*." But while our Government neglected the American Line, the British Government continued to promote and foster its lines until the company that had built the four American ships was forced to the wall. The four ships were sold to the Red Star Line, a new American Company that had been started after having received a subsidy from the Belgian Government. These Red Star ships were sailing under the Belgian flag but their ownership was American.

The substantial aid given this Company by the Belgian Government gave it a start and enabled it to add some American ships to its line—and its owners were willing to struggle along with them and take chances for assistance from our Government in the future that might enable them to overcome the disabilities that their American ships would be subjected to by reason of greater continuous operating cost due to higher wages, more costly supplies, etc. No further building was done here, and the American ships were so far outclassed in size and speed by the subsidized British ships that they ceased to be a menace to British supremacy, and the characteristic self-complacency of the English once more re-asserted itself.

It might be worth while to speculate what the result would have been if our Government had emulated, in respect to the Collins Line, what the British Government did for Cunard. If the United States Government had aided the Collins Company to an extent

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that would have enabled it to build a new ship each year, does any one suppose that, under such circumstances, the Collins Line would have gone to pieces, or that the Cunard or the other British lines that speedily followed would have so easily gained the unquestioned supremacy they did gain? Or would it be unprofitable to speculate what the American Line of 1872 might have done if our Government had emulated the policy towards it that the British Government immediately inaugurated towards its own steamship lines in order to enable them to crush their American rival? I will not attempt to answer these questions; but they ought to be food for reflection.

Fruitless as these experiments turned out to be, so far as the development of the American merchant marine was concerned, their operations and the policy which they forced the British Government to adopt and pursue left an indelible impress upon the management of the ocean merchant marine of Great Britain. From the time that the American Line of 1871-2 passed out of the lists of serious competition, the British monopoly grew year by year until its unquestioned supremacy was fully recognized. This brings us down to the latter part of the seventies—say, about 1877.

At this time, the competition of the French and German lines was not sufficient to disturb the British monopoly. The English went on from that time increasing the size and speed of their transatlantic passenger ships, and turning out immense numbers of the cheapest kind of freight ships, called "tramps"; but the improvements they made in ocean liners were not commensurate with the rapidly increasing demands of the travelling public. As for the freight ships, no improvement was attempted in them at all during this period. On the contrary, as has been wittily said of the tramp ships in those days: "The English built them by the mile and cut them off in lengths to suit."

As I have often said elsewhere, it is a rule in human affairs that neither a man nor a nation can stand still; if they do not go ahead they must retrograde; and, with exceptions not worth mentioning here, the British stopped and stood still in the matter of steamship development several years ago. To discuss the causes of this supineness in detail would take too much space; but it may be said that the first great palpable evidence of the decline of British supremacy in the ocean-carrying trade appeared when they

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took up such an immense quantity of tonnage for transport service at the beginning of their extravagant and disastrous South-African War. Under the stress of this emergency the decline became more obvious than it had seemed under normal conditions; but, while the British were standing still and therefore retrograding, the Germans went ahead with giant strides.

Up to about 1887, while the two great German lines had from time to time increased their fleets to some extent, they had bought all their first-class ships in England or had had them built in English yards, and they had made little or no effort to develop a shipbuilding industry of their own on a large scale. As early as 1887, however, they had laid down two first-class ships in their own yards, these vessels being simply imitations of the British models they already possessed.

The real development of German shipbuilding on a great modern scale began with the accession of the present Emperor in 1888. That enterprising monarch from his earliest manhood had evinced a strong predilection for commercial and business pursuits, and his special ambition was directed to the extension of Germany's foreign commerce. He at once saw that no nation which does not build its own ships can permanently hold first rank in the ocean-carrying trade; and, from that moment until the present time, he has bent all the energies of his nature and all the power of his exalted position to the promotion of German shipbuilding and of the foreign commerce of his Empire. The result of this strong and well defined policy was soon apparent. The Germans not only began to build their own ships, but also began to build better ships than they could buy in Great Britain.

I have heard an interesting anecdote in connection with this branch of the subject. In the Fall of 1887, an American gentleman connected with the shipbuilding industry here was a homeward-bound passenger on the "*Trave*" of the North German Lloyd Line. Among his fellow-passengers was the eminent English architect, Mr. William John, the designer of our ship of war, the "*Texas*," and he was on his way to this country to aid in developing his plans, which had been purchased by Secretary Whitney.

At the "Captain's dinner," the American was called on for a little speech; and he chose for his subject the comfort and other good qualities of the German Line. In the course of his remarks,

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he made some comparisons between the management of the British and German lines, not altogether favorable to the former. To this Mr. William John in his turn responded. Among other things, he said that Germany had a respectable merchant marine, while the United States had none at all or none worth speaking of. The cause of it was that the German Government permitted its citizens to buy their ships where they could get them built most economically, but that the American Government would not permit its citizens to place a foreign-built ship under their own flag. He then proceeded to say that in this the Germans displayed sound business sense. Realizing that they could never excel in shipbuilding or that Germany could never become a great shipbuilding nation, they adopted the next best expedient and supplied their lines with British-built ships. To this, the Captain of the "*Trave*" took immediate exception. He said that, while it was true that the Germans had previously bought all their first-class ships in England, of which the good ship then under their feet was an example, they had prepared and would soon launch forth a great scheme of home-shipbuilding. "I venture to prophesy," said the Captain of the "*Trave*," "that, within ten or twelve years from this time, you will see in the service of the North German Lloyd Company a passenger steamship or ocean greyhound that will excel in size, comfort, safety, speed and all other desirable qualities, any ship ever built in Great Britain or to be built there." The English naval architect smiled at this; but, of course, politeness restrained him from further comment. This was in the Fall of 1887. Ten years from that time, the North German Lloyd Company put on its line the "*Kaiser Wilhelm der Grosse*," a ship which the English have not thus far succeeded in equalling, much less in excelling.

This British supineness and this German progress have continued until the present time. Their effects were very greatly accentuated when the English withdrew such a large amount of tonnage for the uses of the South-African War, and the Germans made haste to take up in all directions the traffic that the British had in that manner wholly or partly abandoned. The result is that Germany has practically taken the first place in the ocean-carrying trade, and Great Britain has been relegated to the second place. Of course, there is a great deal more British tonnage than German tonnage, but the German ships are nearly all of modern

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types, many of them new and in the total average superior in capacity and performance to the total average of British tonnage in the ratio of more than two to one.

This marked the third great era in the history of the British merchant marine.

Something had to be done; but the British did not seem capable of developing any scheme or enterprise that might avail to restore their waning fortunes.

At this moment, certain American steamship men, perceiving the desperate condition of the British merchant marine, and not having obtained assistance to American shipping from our own Government, saw that there was an opportunity for heroic treatment, and they secured the assistance of Mr. Morgan in a scheme to Americanize in fact, if not in name, a very large amount of hitherto foreign ocean steam-tonnage. This, however, was only the beginning of what has since occurred. The so-called merger as it stands, though not of British conception or British origin, may prove the salvation of the British merchant marine. The English were helpless in the matter, because they apparently had no mind or personality of their own capable of organizing it. But it has aroused the British public from the lethargy of years' duration and has turned their normal self-complacency into an almost feverish realization of the actual conditions which confront them. This was the reason why certain English steamship lines so readily and so gladly fell in with the plans of Mr. Morgan and his associates in the merger.

The British newspapers and other organs of public expression took great alarm, and professed to see in this merger the beginning of their downfall. The greatest British newspaper coined the term "Morganeering" as a descriptive epithet.

Still, the common-sense left in England even on this most delicate of subjects, has been strongly and ably voiced by Lord Brassey at the annual meeting of the London Chamber of Commerce, of which he is President. This meeting occurred on May 28th last, and it was so numerously attended that the room in which the annual meeting has been held from time immemorial could not accommodate the crowd, so that it had to be adjourned to a more spacious place. In the course of his presidential address, Lord Brassey said that it was idle for the British to expect or claim a monopoly of the North Atlantic; it

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was certain that, sooner or later, some movement similar to that initiated by Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan would be brought about by the United States. He then proceeded as follows:

"Let us not lose our national dignity in unavailing and groundless alarms. Our position as a maritime nation is assured, and we shall hold our position against all comers because we build ships more cheaply and, with or without foreign crews, sail them more cheaply than any of our rivals."

Lord Brassey admitted, however, that the British shipbuilders must look to their laurels in the construction of ocean steamships of the type of the Hamburg-American line steamer "*Deutschland,*" and he urged more liberal subsidies for mail-carrying.

In a session of the House of Commons the same night, the shipping question was again brought up on the motion for the reappointment of the Committee on Ships' Subsidies, and discussion of this motion elicited expressions of opinion from all parts of the House that it was desirable to enlarge the scope of the Committee, so as to enable it to report upon the latest developments in the ocean-carrying trade, and there was general assent to a proposition that an important increase of subsidies for mail-carrying and for other purposes was imperative.

That the English have been thoroughly roused from their lethargy, and that their traditional self-complacency has given place to an almost morbid anxiety, is attested by information which reached this country on the 5th of June. This information is to the effect, that the Cunard Line will not only not come into the American merger, but that powerful interests in Great Britain have determined to use it with the Elder-Dempster, the Canadian Pacific Steamship connections and other lines, as a basis of what may, and probably will, result in a great English merger, organized on lines somewhat similar to the one already effected. If this determination is carried out, it will be to the general advantage of the commercial and shipping world at large, because it will have the effect of preventing a universal merger of all the great lines.

Whether such a universal merger was contemplated, as the probable or even possible outcome of Mr. Morgan's plans, there are no means of knowing. It would have been extremely difficult to bring all the great steamship lines under several different flags into a great and all-embracing combine. There would have been

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financial difficulties, though these might not have been so nearly insuperable as the difficulty of evolving a harmonious universal management. From this point of view, it is to be hoped that the English will carry into effect their evident purpose to use the Cunard Line as the basis of a great merger that shall be purely British in finance and in management. It is really the only expedient now left open to them, if they are to retain, not the absolute supremacy they once had, but at best a share of it more or less relatively important. Manifestly, the power and resources of the Morgan American merger can be adequately met only by a combination equal in financial strength and material equipment. It could not be met by isolated companies, operating separately. But it must be borne in mind that this great British merger will be backed by all the resources of the British Government, and therefore it must become a menace to our shipping interests in the absence of action on the part of our Government to meet it.

Having thus shown the conditions which existed in ship-owning and the effect which the merger is likely to have upon these conditions, we may now briefly consider its probable effect upon shipbuilding.

In the first place, it is bound to stimulate or, a better phrase would be, to compel a very marked advance in the type and character of British-built ships, and it must also, for reasons which I suggested early in this paper, beneficially affect American shipbuilding, particularly in ship-yards which represent a high state of modern development in plant, appliances, methods and organization.

At this time American rivalry is a subject that has awakened the interest of the British more than at any other period in history.

The reason why first-class American shipbuilders and their capacities should be considered by the merger is, that it must stimulate all parties to the development of vessels of greater speed, greater comfort and greater relative economy in fuel consumption and in other elements of operating cost.

The sudden augmentation in the size of merchant ships has revolutionized all the methods of work and of manipulating the various materials of construction. Man-handling of the materials that enter into the make-up of the mammoth ships now in vogue is out of the question, and the introduction of powerful and newly

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designed machinery, together with increased yard-space, is imperatively demanded to handle, fashion and work into place the elements of these immense structures.

At this point in order to illustrate my meaning by a practical object lesson it becomes necessary for me to refer briefly to the establishment under my own control. Radical and sweeping changes have been made, amounting to a complete revolution of plant, methods and working organism. These changes are now complete; but they have been made so quietly and with so little self-advertisement that the importance and significance of the progress achieved has but just begun to be suspected, and is hardly yet realized by the trade at large, or even by those who should be interested in it above all others.

The ship-yard with its miles of railroad tracks of standard gauge, and with its locomotives, travelling locomotive cranes, and freight cars able to load and unload at every point necessary for receiving plates, etc., and for their trans-shipment to the localities where they are worked, may be viewed as one section of the great work in the New Departure; the electric overhead travelling cranes and their appliances for giving the highest effectiveness to its power, plant, etc., as a second section; and as a third section, the great air-power plant with its riveting, drilling, chipping and caulking appliances, making Cramp's the foremost ship-yard on the planet in its preparations for the New Departure.

Difficulties experienced by the builders of large ships abroad have compelled their appreciation of the gravity of the situation there, and they have just discovered the great strides that the Cramp Company has made in providing for the future. The present result is that that company is in continuous correspondence with the foremost shipbuilders in Great Britain (some of whom have already visited the works), who have recently organized a committee of their most prominent men to visit the company's yard for the purpose of personally investigating the design, construction and operations of the new system. As an instance of this attentiveness we may quote briefly from "*Engineering*" of London, in its issue of March 28th, 1902:

"We refer to the use of pneumatic tools in the construction of the hulls of ships. The wonderful adaptability of these tools to the many and varying operations necessary in the construction of the steel framing and plating of vessels, whether it be for drilling, riveting, caulking,

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or chipping, cannot long be overlooked. Let us see what others are doing in the matter. The Americans, who so often seem to look ahead of us, appear to have done so again with regard to this question, and have in consequence gained experience in the use of pneumatic tools for shipwork which we have yet to acquire.

"Take, for instance, the works of Messrs. Cramp, of Philadelphia, where these tools have been adopted throughout the shipbuilding yards, and are employed on the very heaviest work. During last year, a part of the work carried out there was the construction of two steamers for the American Line. The length of these steamers is 560 ft., and the registered tonnage is 14,000 tons. The number of rivets per ship is approximately 647,000, and their dimensions are as follows; In the shear strake, 1⅛ in. in diameter; in bottom strake, 1 in. in diameter; and in the general work ⅞ in. in diameter. . . . . Practically, the whole of the riveting on the above ships was done by pneumatic tools. . . . . The actual cost of the riveting, as compared to handwork, was 40 per cent. less. . . . . The aggregate capacity of the air compressors in the above works is 15,000 cubic feet of free air per minute, compressed to 100 lb. per square inch. . . . . At present, the pneumatic riveters at work at Southampton Dock are being operated by men who have come over from Messrs. Cramp and Co.'s works, until the English workmen get accustomed to their use."

The foreman and the men referred to as being at Southampton have recently returned to this country, having perfected successfully the work they were sent over to do. Their presence in Southampton was a notable event in the shipbuilding world of Europe, and visitors from ship-yards thronged the dock-yard while they were at work. These visitors came not only from British yards but also from the Continent.

A newspaper cable despatch of a few days ago announcing the intention of the Chief Constructor of the German Navy to visit Cramp's ship-yard for the purpose of examining into the new system, indicates the widespread influence that Cramp's New Departure has had upon the shipbuilding art in the world at large.

CHAS. H. CRAMP.

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THE THREE FRANCESCAS.

BY EDITH WHARTON.

THE almost simultaneous production of three plays on the subject of Francesca da Rimini, by play-wrights of three different nationalities, illustrates in an interesting manner that impulse of the creative fancy which so often leads one imaginative writer to take up a theme already dealt with by another. The greatest geniuses have been swayed by such currents of suggestion: there are moments when certain subjects are in the air and present themselves irresistibly to imaginations of the most different order. This is perhaps especially the case when the situation or the story dealt with is one already familiar to the world, when it has grown to be an integral part of human culture, as in the case of the tragedy of Rimini. The Elizabethan dramatists repeatedly exemplified this tendency of the creative mind to remint the currency of fiction, to individualize stock types in its own image. An inexhaustible suggestiveness is the property of certain great stories dealing with universal passions and instincts, and there will probably never come a time when Romeo and Juliet, Lear and Othello do not furnish material for reembodiment.

Where—as in the plays just cited—a dramatic situation has taken definitive form in the hands of genius, the later comer is of course debarred from deliberate use of the fable; but what is "*Le Père Goriot*" but another telling of "Lear," and in how many later tales of thwarted love or death-dealing jealousy are the germs of "Romeo and Juliet" and of "Othello" wholly absent? With the story of Francesca the case is different. Here the episode was simply hinted at by Dante, and perhaps even those to whom his lines are familiar will be surprised, on turning to them again, to see how little of the story he tells: so closely

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has it come to be associated, in every incident, with his evocation of the two who go forever on the accursèd air. Dante gave but the central fact of the great love against which the gates of hell could not prevail; but his contemporaries knew how to fill up this outline with the familiar details of a tragedy still recent when he wrote.

Of the authors now under consideration, Mr. Phillips was earliest attracted by the dramatic possibilities of the tale. His play was written some four years ago; and in a discussion of the three dramas it should therefore come first. Before examining the plays separately, however, it is necessary to find some basis of comparison; since they are too different to be compared at all points. In form, for instance, Mr. Phillips has chosen blank verse, Signor d'Annunzio *vers libres,* rhymed and unrhymed, and Mr. Crawford (for special reasons) a prose simple to the verge of baldness. These vehicles of expression cannot be profitably compared, and one must seek elsewhere for an attribute common to the three versions. This is found in the fact that all three were written for the stage; and from this stand-point they must be considered.

In dealing with so well-known a theme, the dramatist's task is complicated by the fact that he must discount the suspense of his audience. From the first line they are in the secret with him: every spectator knows that Francesca and Paolo love each other, and that in the end their love will be found out and punished. The author, therefore, cannot play on the conjectures of his audience; and suspense being avowedly one of the most important factors in dramatic presentment, he must make up for this deficiency by keeping his characters in the dark and letting his audience become absorbed in their gropings through the labyrinth of fate. From the outset, the spectator knows the doom suspended over the house of Malatesta; and the chief interest in the play must lie in watching "the gods creep on with feet of wool" upon their unsuspecting victims. How, then, has Mr. Phillips fulfilled this condition?

The recorded facts of Francesca's story need amplification to fit them for dramatic purposes, and Mr. Phillips has broken with tradition in making a jealous woman sow the first seeds of suspicion in Malatesta's mind. His cousin Lucrezia, a childless widow who for years has been deep in his counsels, is embittered

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by his marriage to the young and beautiful Francesca, and seizes the first chance to hint at the likelihood of his having a rival in his brother. Lucrezia is the most life-like and forcible character in the drama—the only man in it, one might say—but her intervention so early in the play removes the important element of suspense, and makes of the remaining acts a merely episodical progress toward an anticipated catastrophe. Herein lies the weakness of the play. From the middle of the second act the audience knows that Giovanni is aware of his brother's love for Francesca. He is still ignorant, indeed, if that love be returned, or, if returned, how far feeling has been curbed by duty; but these minor considerations, though used with ingenuity, fail to arrest the interest of the spectator, who feels that, since *he* knows, and Giovanni knows, and Lucrezia knows, it is idle to keep up the mystery.

If Mr. Phillips has thus sacrificed one element of dramatic effectiveness, he has missed another by his neglect of local color, both in the atmosphere and in the psychology of the play. Local color of the external sort is, on the whole, an overrated pigment; but there is a subtle way of suggesting the atmosphere of a period and country, of indicating, allusively, the racial point of view and the natural environment; and this Mr. Phillips has failed to do. In a general—a very general—sense, it may be said that such primary passions as love and jealousy are the same in all races and ages; but this generalization will not stand the test of specific application. If the exponents of these passions are to have any more individuality than the vices and virtues of an old Morality, they must be given a local habitation. It is still broadly true that *la morale est purement géographique,* and that, in an Italian and an Anglo-Saxon temperament, love and jealousy do not operate in the same way or with the same results. More especially is this the case when the Italian is a thirteenth-century tyrant, the Anglo-Saxon his modern interpreter. It is safe to say that Giovanni Malatesta (quaintly described in the *Ottimo Commento* as "an open-hearted man, warlike and cruel") would not have behaved like a gentlemanly Englishman with a tendency to introspection and melancholia. He certainly would not have made such a to-do about killing his wife and brother. It was thus that such matters were settled in mediæval Italy. To a lord of the *haute justice* it was as natural, as obligatory, one might say, to kill

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an unfaithful wife with his own hands, as it would be for a modern Englishman to apply for a divorce.

The moral susceptibilities of the other characters are equally tender. Francesca's innocence verges on *niaiserie,* and Paolo is a Werther with a dash of University Settlement. From the first he shuns Francesca's perilous nearness, and when love prevails, and he finds himself powerless to flee, he buys poison and resolves to die at her feet. Giovanni, overhearing the avowal of his love (an avowal which Paolo forces somewhat needlessly on the reluctant apothecary who sells him the drug), is so moved by his brother's suicidal intentions that he exclaims: "I cannot have thee die, my Paolo!" In thirteenth-century Rimini, the chances are that, before Paolo had time to swallow the potion, he would have had his brother's knife in his back; but Mr. Phillips's characters have read "The Data of Ethics" and cultivated the other-regarding virtues. Even the virago Lucrezia, who, at the outset, seems disposed to take somewhat illogical revenge on the world in general for the fact of her childlessness, melts suddenly at an affectionate word of Francesca's, and tries to check the machinery of murder that she has set in motion. If, as Mr. Phillips obscurely hints, Lucrezia's hatred of Francesca is based on a not always unreciprocated passion for Giovanni, it seems unlikely that the young wife's advances should have such a softening effect, especially as Francesca's appeal reveals her love for Paolo; but Mr. Phillips, who refuses to let any of his characters *savourer* their vengeance in good Italian fashion, appears to believe in "changes of heart" as rapid and complete as revivalist conversions.

Lucrezia, then, having been asked by Francesca to "think of her as a little child," is so touched by this request that she dashes out in pursuit of Giovanni, to whom she had previously suggested the classic expedient of a feigned departure, in order that he should return and surprise the lovers. Her repentance naturally comes too late. Paolo and Francesca have to be killed, and the audience knows that, while Lucrezia rushes out by one door, Giovanni will come in by another. In a moment he does come in. He has found and killed the lovers, and he says to Francesca's frightened waiting-woman:

> "Is it not time you dressed her all in white,
> And combed out her long hair as for a sleep?"

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Dramatically, this scene is the finest in the play. Malatesta for the moment ceases to be a modern altruist, and becomes a mediæval Italian drunk with revenge. "And now," he exclaims,

> "And now their love that was so secret close
> Shall be proclaimed. Tullio, Carlo, Biagi!
> They shall be married before all men. Nita!
> Rouse up the house and bring in lights, lights, lights!
> There shall be music, feasting and dancing.
> Wine shall be drunk. Candles, I say! More lights!
> More marriage lights! Where tarry they the while,
> The nuptial tapers? Rouse up all the house!"

This is not only fine poetry but good psychology. For the first time since the opening of the play one feels one's self in Italy—at least in the Elizabethan Italy of "The White Devil" and "The Duchess of Malfy"; for, as Vernon Lee has pointed out in "Euphorion," the real meridional went about his bloody business in much more prosaic and instinctive fashion than his northern interpreter could even then conceive possible. Still, such minor differences do not spoil the illusion, for the Elizabethan Italy has long since become a recognized fief of the imagination. But the key soon changes. Malatesta begins to talk of the curse of Cain, and the scene closes, nobly indeed, as regards poetry, but on a note of sentimental fatalism unworthy of the opening. Since we have it on Dante's authority that Paolo and Francesca did not repent in hell, why should Malatesta repine on earth?

If Mr. Phillips has been chary in the use of local color, Signor d'Annunzio has laid it on with a lavish hand. It was of course easier for him, as an Italian, to enter into the psychology of his characters, to brush in their background by those allusive touches which are so much more suggestive than explicit statement. But the element of dilettanteism in his talent has led him to attempt a minute "reconstitution" of the period, so that the thread of his drama is almost lost in a labyrinth of archæological and etymological details. The mere reading of Signor d'Annunzio's list of characters shows how large a part he allots to the episodical portrayal of life in a mediæval Italian city. In a chronicle-play there would have been room for his supernumeraries; but in a psychological drama, of which the direct action is limited to three persons, this swarming of musicians, soldiers, torch-bearers cross-bowmen and so on, affects one as though the figures in the

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tapestry hangings of the castle had come down and thrust themselves between the living actors. To keep such a crowded background in perspective requires the large scenic brush of a master-dramatist; and even Shakespeare did not pack his middle distance in the plays where he wished the principal action to stand out in high relief. Moreover, in his dramas of passion, every subordinate character is a necessary link in the chain of action, as in the case of Oswald, the Fool and the rival men-at-arms in "Lear." Signor d'Annunzio lacks the skill to utilize his accessory figures in this way: they are merely put in to "look pretty," as a collector arranges his bric-à-brac.

The result, it must be owned, is distinctly effective. The play unrolls a series of vivid pictures, all suffused with the atmosphere of the old chronicles and the *novelle*. This is the real Italy of the Middle Ages—not the "academy of manslaughter, the sporting-place of murder" of the terrified English imagination, but the bright fierce inconscient Italy of Mattarazzo and Boccaccio. The pasteboard "flies" are replaced by the actual walls of the Malatesta keep, war-dinted, blood-stained walls, frowning over a fortified town of trembling burghers and a land tilled by serfs and ravaged by the mercenaries of rival tyrants. We are in Dante's Rimini.

Signor d'Annunzio has composed a fable in keeping with this background. He reverts to the traditional story of Francesca's marriage—a story of fraud and violence, for the real Francesca was no Patient Grizzel, but a damsel so high of spirit—*d'altiero animo*—that, to trick her into marriage with the deformed Giovanni Malatesta, it was necessary to make her think that his brother Paolo—himself a married man, and sent to wed her by proxy—was to be her real husband. This at once secures the spectator's sympathy for Francesca. She has been basely used, and her husband is a party to the fraud. In the first act, Signor d'Annunzio shows Francesca at her father's court in Ravenna, surrounded by her attendant damsels and her brawling scheming brothers. One of these, Ostasio, who for political reasons is set on the Malatesta alliance, but who wavers at the thought of sacrificing the girl, thus describes her to the notary who is urging the expediency of the marriage:

> "Ah, she were worth a crown! How beautiful!
> No blade is straighter than the gaze she plants

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Straight in the eyes of whoso speaks with her.
But yesterday she said: 'What man is this
To whom you give me, brother?' When she goes,
Her great hair all about her to the knees . . .
She gladdens me like ensigns in the wind
Over a conquered city . . . then it seems
The eagle of our House sits on her wrist
Like a jessed falcon straining for high prey.
But yesterday she said: 'What man is this
You give me to?' *Ah, who shall see her end?*"

Eight centuries and the Alps lie between this Francesca and Mr. Phillips's.

Expediency overrules Ostasio's scruples. He imprisons a wandering *jongleur* whom he suspects of having come to Ravenna in Paolo's train, and of knowing that this brilliant cavalier is but a vicarious wooer; and the act closes with the picture of Francesca handing a rose to her supposed husband through the courtyard gates.

The second act shows the interior of the castle of Rimini. The fortress is besieged by Ghibelline forces, and Francesca has mounted to the upper story of the keep. Here she is joined by Paolo, newly come from besieging Cesena with Guido de Montfort. This Paolo is not the carpet-knight of tradition, "more given to the arts than to warfare." A year has passed since the marriage of Francesca, and since then

"Peace and the soul of Paolo Malatesta
Forevermore are foes in life and death.
For all about me turned to enmity
The day thine unreturning foot was set
Within this fatal house, and mine withdrawn.
Bloody deeds
That night did medicine my wounded soul.
Tindaro Omodei I slew, and left
His roof in ruins, flinging him as prey
To the insatiate furies at my heels."

Francesca listens, trembling and invoking the saints; but in that moment of violence and terror their love for each other flames up like the Greek fire blazing about them. This scene, where the air hums with flying missiles and the sky is lit by the flare of blazing roofs, is one of the finest in the play. The lovers are swept into each other's arms by the heightened passion of the moment. Suddenly Giovanni appears. The day is nearly won,

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and he comes to tell his brother that the Florentine envoys have brought the good news of his election as Captain of the People. Francesca tells her Cypriote slave to bring a draught of wine to the thirsty warriors. Giovanni drinks first, and then bids her hand the cup to his brother; and she offers it with the words

> "O brother of my lord, drink of the cup
> Thy brother drinks of"—

a phrase on which the act should have closed.

The scene of the third act is the bedchamber of Francesca, "panelled with pictures from the story of Tristan". Francesca is reading aloud to her damsels the tale of Guinevere and Lancelot. Presently Paolo arrives from Florence, and the latter half of the act is a prolonged love-scene, closing upon the fatal kiss. It is impossible, without going into detail, to render the incidental charm of this act, especially in its earlier portion, where Francesca talks with the merchant who has ridden in Paolo's train from Florence. Signor d'Annunzio has drawn with singular felicity on the legends, the poetry and the superstitions of the period, and the *gaia brigata* of Francesca's court live before us like the knights and ladies in the prologue of the Decameron. Dramatically, the effect is less successful, since the situation remains what it was at the close of the previous act.

Signor d'Annunzio, like Mr. Phillips, has had to devise a means of exciting Giovanni's suspicions. To this end, he has given Malatesta a younger brother, the terrible one-eyed Malatestino, a stripling who might have been drawn from Mattarrazzo's Grifonetto Baglione. This young bird of prey loves Francesca, and when she indignantly rejects his love, hints to her that he knows her secret and holds her fate and Paolo's in his hands. She drives him from her, and Malatestino, going to Giovanni, offers to give him proof of his wife's guilt. One episode in this scene, though quite unrelated to the action of the play, is too characteristic to be overlooked. Messer Montagna dei Parcitadi, one of the leaders of the Ghibellines whom Giovanni has successfully repulsed, has been taken prisoner and cast into the dungeon of the keep. All through the lugubrious scene between Francesca and Malatestino, the captive Ghibelline's cries are heard. They unnerve and madden Francesca, and at length Malatestino declares that he will go down and silence the prisoner.

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Fascinated but helpless, she watches him go, and in a few moments the boy returns, dragging Montagna's head behind him in a linen cloth. "How heavy it is!" is his comment, as he drops his dripping burden.

Meanwhile Giovanni, at Malatestino's suggestion, has planned the usual feigned departure, and Paolo and Francesca forget their peril in the prospect of being for once alone together. The fifth act shows Francesca's bedchamber at midnight. She lies in an uneasy sleep, from which her maidens will not rouse her, because it is dangerous to waken a dreamer—*un cuor che vede.* They talk in undertones by the bedside. One says that Francesca always has her dreams interpreted by the Cypriote slave, Smaragdi; another whispers that she has seen Giovanni and Malatestino ride away under the starlight toward Pesaro, the younger brother carrying Parcitadi's bloody head at his saddle-bow; and a third sighs out that one can breathe freely again, now that the hunch-back and the one-eyed are gone. The whole scene is full of mystery, of fantastic sounds and shadows. Suddenly Francesca wakes. She calls for Smaragdi, the watchful slave, who is always at her side, who never fails to warn her of impending danger. But Smaragdi has vanished. She was last seen washing up the bloodstains on the court-yard pavement, where Malatestino had tied Parcitadi's head to his saddle-bow. The maidens seek her, calling softly down the dark stone corridors; but no answer comes. Smaragdi has been spirited away, and the air is full of doom.

Francesca dismisses her attendants. Suddenly she hears a low knocking on the door; she calls out "Smaragdi," but it is Paolo who enters. The scene moves rapidly to its end. Another knocking, this time loud and furious, tears the lovers from each other's arms. Giovanni bursts in and the brothers draw their daggers on each other; but Francesca flings herself between and receives Giovanni's blade in her breast.

It would have been impossible to do justice to Signor d'Annunzio's drama without dwelling at some length on the exquisite incidental touches which create its peculiar charm; yet it must be owned that these touches impede the action, and that the drama, when stripped of them, shows a complete arrest of movement in the third act. Far different is the construction of Mr. Crawford's "Francesca." Though in the French version (which in-

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cludes a prologue) the action covers a space of fourteen years, it moves with a rapidity beside which Mr. Phillips's action drags and Signor d'Annunzio's seems to remain stationary. Yet this impetus is not acquired by mere stage ingenuity; indeed, it is to Mr. Crawford's credit that his skill in the construction of mechanical plots has not led him to turn a tragedy into a melodrama. He has preserved the simple outline which such a theme demands, and his dramatic instinct has saved him from clogging it with unessential detail.

His play was written for Madame Sarah Bernhardt, with the view of its being translated into French; and these peculiar conditions restricted Mr. Crawford to the use of the simplest prose. The English version necessarily suffers from this restriction. In a language which, like the English and the Italian, possesses a special poetic vocabulary, it is hard to render lofty situations in prose without running into colloquialism or bathos. Mr. Crawford has at least refrained from making his personages talk "prose poetry". They use the plainest and most direct English, and the play seems almost like the skeleton of a drama in blank verse.

This nudity makes the structure of the tragedy more salient. To turn from the crowded scene of Signor d'Annunzio's "Francesca" to the open spaces of Mr. Crawford's, is like passing from a modern English play with an elaborate stage-setting to the bare *mise-en-scène* of a classic drama at the Théâtre Français, where, if there is a glass of water on the stage, the spectator knows it has its special relevancy. Mr. Crawford, alone of the three authors, has turned to history for the chronology of his drama. According to the old chronicles, Paolo and Francesca loved each other for fourteen years before Giovanni discovered their secret; and, in the original version of Mr. Crawford's play, his heroine is the mother of a girl of thirteen when the action begins. A brief prologue, setting forth the fraud of Francesca's marriage, has been added to the French translation; but the addition, though cleverly made, detracts from the unity and simplicity of the original, and ought not to be included in its consideration.

Mr. Crawford, put to it, like his fellow-dramatists, to invent an effective way of exciting Giovanni's suspicions, has made the daughter, Concordia, the innocent means of her mother's betrayal. In the opening act, Francesca and Paolo are shown in the

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security of their long-established relation—a relation which Francesca believes to be completely justified by the abominable deception of her marriage. But a woman's voice is heard in the castle court, shrieking out maledictions on Paolo; and the latter, looking from the window, recognizes his wife Beatrice in the disguise of a peasant. Francesca's jealousy is instantly roused. She couples this mysterious incident with the fact that Paolo has suddenly and inexplicably accepted the post of Captain of the People, proffered by the Florentine government; the woman cries out again, "Paolo Malatesta! Coward! Betrayer!" Paolo, losing his self-command, dashes down into the court-yard, and Francesca, left alone, murmurs to herself: "A woman crying out his name—a woman leading a child—and on this very day he talks of leaving me!"

The next act opens, effectively, with the holding of a court of justice. Malatesta, as lord of the *haute et basse justice,* is to pass sentence on the various offenders who come under his jurisdiction. While the men-at-arms are preparing for the trial, Giovanni chats with his little daughter, and Concordia asks him what has become of the strange madwoman who had so frightened her mother and her uncle Paolo. Little by little, from the child's talk, Giovanni pieces out a fragmentary hint of the truth —enough to rouse a vague suspicion, without directing or defining it. One simply feels that henceforth he will be on the alert. Beatrice, meanwhile, has been seized and imprisoned, and Paolo knows that she will be brought before his brother for trial. This must be prevented, and Paolo bribes the gaoler to let her escape; but Francesca, mad with jealousy, is equally determined that the prisoner shall not be shuffled out of sight. She appears, and insists on Giovanni's summoning the mysterious woman first. Paolo, at bay, makes a sign to the gaoler, and in a moment the latter returns with the announcement that the stranger has strangled herself. Giovanni bids the bearers bring in the body, and himself uncovers the dead woman's face. There is a pause full of dreadful significance, as each in turn recognizes Beatrice; then Malatesta, looking at his brother, says in a tone of solemn command: "Paolo Malatesta, bury your wife."

Francesca's jealousy has been lulled, but Giovanni's is awakened; and on Paolo's soul lies the weight of his wife's death. This psychological situation, brought about with masterly simplicity,

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serves to maintain the interest of the two remaining acts. Properly speaking, indeed, these form but one act in two scenes, which together compose the climax of the tragedy.

The scene opens in the walled garden under Francesca's window. Giovanni has set his spies in motion, and learns that Paolo has left Florence clandestinely. Without doubt he has come to Rimini, is perhaps even now in hiding in Francesca's chamber. As Giovanni talks with his wife he hears the casement stir overhead. The day is sultry, and he suggests to her that they should go indoors; but she declares that her room is stifling and that she has come into the garden for air. Every word and gesture confirms his suspicions. Now begins the most masterly scene in the play. Giovanni, the open-hearted and cruel, has transformed himself into a smooth and subtle hypocrite, in order the more surely to compass his revenge. He tells his wife that Paolo has betrayed him, conspiring with the exiled Ghibellines to get possession of Rimini as a base of operation against the Florentine republic. This is no vague rumor—Giovanni has the facts from the Florentine government. Paolo has left Florence suddenly, without warning, and the question is—whither has he fled? "If he is innocent of treason he will either come here to escape from his enemies, or he will go back to Florence and face them Which do you think he will do?"

Francesca falters: "I—I think he may come here;" and Giovanni answers quietly: "Yes, I think it is likely that you will see him here to-day."

She extracts a promise from Giovanni that he will not move against his brother till he has seen Paolo and heard his defence; but when her husband asks: "Will you give me nothing for this, Francesca?" she shrinks back with uncontrollable abhorrence, and Giovanni, clasping her with sombre passion, cries out: "I love you! I love you! *I shall love you still when you are dead.*"

The scene shifts to Francesca's room. Paolo, concealed there, has heard the conversation between husband and wife, but the two lovers, in each other's presence, are once more forgetful of impending danger. Francesca, indeed, suggests that they should take counsel together for Paolo's safety, but he answers, "Not yet!" and their talk strays back to the days of their early love, and to the book which had betrayed them. "Where is the book?" Paolo asks, and Francesca gives it to him. He begins to read

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and then hands it to her. She takes up the tale: "And when Launcelot saw Guinevere's lips—," but suddenly she exclaims: "It grows so dark that I can hardly see." The darkness is caused by a shadow falling across the book; the shadow of Giovanni who, his dagger between his teeth, noiselessly enters by the window before which the lovers sit. He reaches them unperceived, but as his arm is raised, Francesca sees him and flings herself across her lover. Up to this point the scene moves with a sombre rapidity; but its close is marred by a "death-bed speech" from the dying Francesca, which one suspects of having been composed at the request of Madame Bernhardt. Certainly, its effect is to let the play down suddenly from tragedy to melodrama; a fact the more to be regretted, as this is Mr. Crawford's only obvious concession to stage—or rather "stagy"—conventions. Signor d'Annunzio's Francesca makes a nobler end.

Whatever the merits of the two other plays—and they are many—Mr. Crawford has undoubtedly been most successful from the dramatic point of view. He has written the best "acting" play. His action is more rapid and simpler than that of the other dramatists, and has a higher quality of dramatic inevitableness. He has been clever in letting the surprise of the lovers take place without the time-honored device of the feigned departure. The psychology of his principal characters is firmly drawn, and though his play is as bare of metaphor as a tragedy of Alfieri's, it does not lack high imaginative touches, as where Francesca exclaims on the sudden darkening of the light behind her: a touch which suggests, though on a lower plane, such lightning-flashes of significance as Keats's

> "So the two brothers and their murder'd man
> Rode past fair Florence,"

and Imogen's exclamation on the road to Milford Haven:

> "Why, one that rode to's execution, man,
> Could never go so slow."

It is curious to note that the French critics, who have written much and favorably of Mr. Crawford's play, take exception at the two most characteristic *racial* traits in the drama: the long attachment of the lovers, and Malatesta's change from a violent and outspoken man to a stealthy smiling assassin. It is at these

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two points that Mr. Crawford has shown his insight into Italian character and his courage in departing from stage conventions. He has had the audacity to draw his characters as Italians of the Middle Ages, and not as scrupulous and sentimental modern altruists. Italian fidelity in love was for centuries the theme of wondering comment to French travellers, who saw only a *vieux collage* in the long devotion of a lover growing gray in his lady's service. According to the curious code of sexual morality in Italy, the tie between the lover and his mistress was as sacred as marriage, or was rather in fact what that abeyant bond was in theory; and Mrs. Piozzi, in her travels, gives a quaint picture of an old Milanese lady of noble birth, whose old *cicisbeo,* attended by his old servant, presents himself every evening at the same hour. To those who understand this tradition, the long affection between Paolo and Francesca gives an added dignity and pathos to their situation, though it may prove a stumbling-block to English and American theatrical managers, whose recipe for historical drama consists in dressing up modern characters in the costumes of the period, and permitting the playwright the lavish use of "What ho!" and "Marry come up!" as a satisfying substitute for historic truth and racial psychology.

EDITH WHARTON.

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PERSONAL INFLUENCE OF THE KAISER ON GERMAN PUBLIC LIFE.

BY WOLF VON SCHIERBRAND.

It is an attractive task to lay bare the various sources of the extraordinary influence exerted by the German Emperor upon the public life of the nation he rules. The world knows this influence to be very strong, but relatively little is generally understood as to whence it is derived. The purpose of this article is to show not only its extent on the different spheres of public activity in Germany, but also by what means the Kaiser has succeeded in so remarkable a degree in impressing his will, his aims and convictions upon his country.

The constitution of the Empire, on which the lawful powers and prerogatives of the head of the nation exclusively rest, does not confer on him a great abundance of either, hardly as much, in fact, as the constitution of this country delegates to the President. It divides the power of the Empire as such between the Kaiser, the Bundesrath or Federal Council, and the Reichstag or National Parliament. It makes the Kaiser chief commander of the military and naval forces; it invests him with the right of representing the Empire on all occasions in its dealings with foreign countries and their ambassadors and ministers, and of declaring war and concluding peace. But it grants the Kaiser no veto power to block unwise or unwelcome legislation, such as the President of the United States possesses; neither does it give him the duty or power to interfere in the internal affairs of any of the German states save the one whose monarch he is, making him in every respect, excepting those specified above, merely *primus inter pares*. The Bundesrath and the Reichstag are jointly entrusted with the right of legislating for the Empire, of framing, altering and passing bills which after approval by both bodies

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become laws, although the Imperial Government may, and generally does, prepare and submit such bills, and these, of course, may more or less accurately reflect the personal wishes of the Kaiser. But it is at all times within the province of these two bodies to thwart the Kaiser in the matter of legislation.

The Bundesrath, particularly, is an organization whose functions are, on the whole, as defined by the constitution, nearly if not quite as important as those of the Kaiser. Its fifty-eight members are appointed by the governments of the twenty-six sovereign states which together compose the Empire; and its powers are not only legislative, like those of the Reichstag, but within certain limits supervisory and administrative as well. It also belongs exclusively to the Bundesrath to devise and set in force the rules and regulations for the execution of all laws. Prussia is represented within the Bundesrath by but seventeen out of the fifty-eight members, so that the Kaiser, even as King of Prussia, cannot sway the deliberations and decisions of this body.

The other branch of the legislative organization of the Empire, the Reichstag, is composed of 397 members, elected by general franchise, and representing, of course, every shade of political opinion, from the Socialist creed to the most reactionary shade of belief held by the so-called Junker Party. The splitting-up of political thought in Germany into almost a score of parties and factions, would in itself prevent the complete ascendency of the Imperial will within this body, and, as a matter of fact, the Imperial Government is obliged to win over a majority of votes for every measure it desires passed. This is what Bismarck called "*Politik machen von Fall zu Fall.*"

Thus, then, in theory, the power of the Kaiser to guide the legislation and administration of the Empire is seriously curtailed and, to some extent, even handicapped. But in practice this is true in a much less degree. As to the Bundesrath, though the seventeen Prussian votes directly controlled by the Kaiser are less than one-third of the total, there are always enough votes of the other states obtainable to give Prussia, which means the Kaiser, the majority. For, aside from the fear of displeasing the Kaiser, a sentiment which is strong in the bosoms of the smaller states and their rulers, and for which experience has furnished them good reason, Prussia's interests in any question or pending measure naturally run parallel with those of a number of its

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neighbors. And the great weight which the interests of a state must naturally have which alone forms three-fifths of the territory and contains two-thirds of the population of the Empire, will be the decisive factor in many otherwise doubtful cases. At any rate, it is a fact that the Bundesrath, ever since it held its initial session in 1871, has in the end run counter to the Kaiser's and Prussia's serious interests in not a single instance.

The Reichstag, on its part, has not always been so amenable to the Kaiser's influence. On several occasions that body has rejected measures strongly urged by the Imperial representatives. Some of these measures have been definitely dropped, while others have again made their appearance and been finally passed, with or without alterations, as was the case with several of the bills for the increase of the army and navy. Nevertheless, the Reichstag has always been recognized by the Emperor as an uncertain element in his calculations, and as one which, in spite of the most clever manipulation, can never be depended upon to give effect to his wishes.

But, then, the powers of the Reichstag are more narrowly circumscribed than those of the Bundesrath; and the very fact that this body is composed of so many and so heterogeneous political units prevents it from becoming at any time a very formidable adversary, and from ever presenting a solid front against Imperial encroachments. It has, besides, no "patronage," so-called, to distribute and no other tangible favors to bestow.

The opposition, therefore, which the Kaiser has met, and is likely to meet in the future, from this quarter is much less serious than at first sight would appear to be the case. The amount of this possible opposition, however, is still measurably decreased by the personal influence of the Kaiser. For the Kaiser strikingly embodies an epitome of all the driving forces in the German character of to-day; and just as he in that capacity exercises a wellnigh mesmeric influence on the mind and imagination of the nation, so, too, he does on its representatives in the Reichstag. His masterful ways, and the forceful and picturesque manner in which he usually presents his views in public, greatly add to the authority of his personality. But he has still other means of impressing his will. Among these are speeches from the throne. These public enunciations, which in other countries are mere cut-and-dried papers to which little attention is paid, are

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really meant by the German constitution to be nothing more. Under the present Kaiser's predecessors they *were* nothing more. They were read in a perfunctory manner, precisely as worded by the Imperial Chancellor. But William II. did not follow in his grandfather's footsteps in this respect. He has repeatedly and in a dramatic manner disregarded the exact wording, and even the spirit and substance, of the manuscript prepared for him by his Chancellors, and strongly infused them with his own ideas and opinions. From impersonal and unimpressive documents, such as the constitution contemplated, his throne speeches have become sensational events, reverberating through the whole Empire, and stamping in advance as his personal opponents, nay, enemies, all those delegates in Reichstag and Diet who resist the passage of the measures proposed by him. The receptions the Kaiser accords, in conformity with a long-established custom, to the presiding officers of the legislative bodies, and which under William I. were merely formal, are regularly turned to the same account by the present Kaiser. By strong and eloquent suasion on these occasions, the Kaiser has several times turned the scale in favor of important measures.

William II. has often given public utterance to his conviction that the most potent support of his throne is his army. It is not surprising, therefore, that he has steadily aimed at keeping that pillar of his strength perfectly under his own control. In doing this he has made use of every available means. All the year round finds him busy attending parades, manœuvres, anniversaries of battles, birthdays of sovereign or otherwise distinguished chiefs of a number of his regiments, and delivering speeches, toasts, formal or impromptu addresses, in which he never fails to inculcate precepts and traditions of loyalty and of every other military virtue, seizing, too, opportunities thus afforded him to pay compliments to the heads of allied or friendly nations, or to express other sentiments likely to benefit Germany in her political relations. Above all, though, he fraternizes with the officers of the army at luncheons or banquets given at their barracks, to which he invites himself. His after-dinner remarks on such occasions have often astounded the world, but from his own point of view, that of commander-in-chief of the army, they have been highly effective, and have tended to knit still more firmly the bonds which unite the army to his person. Then there is the entire

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category of rewards and punishments, which he, as head of the army, dispenses at will—promotions, orders and decorations, praise or censure meted out to individuals or bodies in army orders and bulletins; confirmations, revisions or nullifications of sentences imposed by courts-martial. It will easily be understood that these varied and constantly applied means alone suffice to make the influence of the Kaiser over his army an element of surpassing force. But to all this must be added the influence he acquires through his "Military Cabinet." This is a bureau under his exclusive control, whose mission it is to supply him daily, by regular verbal or written reports, with that wealth of personal details about his army, and especially about the corps of officers, which enables him to know at all times the exact spirit and degree of efficiency noticeable in each regiment, even each company or squadron, and which lends to his personal relations with the army a spice of intimacy and comprehensive knowledge which is of enormous value. It is credibly asserted that the Kaiser personally knows half of the 25,000 officers in his army.

His "Naval Cabinet," whose scope of duties is similar, is largely responsible for his intimate knowledge of the ships and men composing the German navy. His constant visits to the naval vessels also have a share in this, and it is probably true that he personally knows every one of the 123 vessels and 1500 naval officers under his command.

As regards the citizen population, and more particularly the immense corps of government officials, his "Civil Cabinet," of which Herr von Lucanus is the dreaded chief, puts him in a position to acquire a great deal of similarly intimate knowledge about it. Thousands of petitions, letters of thanks, special reports, etc., reach him in the course of every year through this "cabinet" which give him a keen insight into the lives, ambitions, and aims of the middle and higher classes. The peculiar passion for titles and decorations, for which the Germans themselves have coined the word "*Titelsucht*," likewise furnishes the Kaiser with a strong lever by which to turn people at will. Every winter—on January 18th, as a rule—the so-called "*Ordensfest*," or Fête of Decorations, is celebrated at the Berlin court, when between 5,000 and 8,000 newly decorated citizens, drawn from every walk of life, are invited to court, file before the Kaiser and his consort, and are subsequently regaled in a number of the

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most splendid apartments of the Old Castle, and affably treated by a large and gorgeously attired body of flunkeys. Thus an indelibly sweet and powerful impression is left on the minds of this heterogeneous multitude, largely composed of unsophisticated and intensely loyal denizens of rural districts or smaller towns. The official organ of the Empire on the afternoon of that day publishes a special edition, containing on a score of quarto pages the full names, callings, etc., of all these happy persons, together with a minute classification of the decorations and medals awarded, and all the newspapers in the Empire reprint the list, wholly or in part. The present Kaiser has used this quite inexpensive but very effective mode of rewarding loyal subjects with steadily increasing lavishness, and has invented a number of new decorations, besides. He indulges the ambition for titles with like generosity and with like effect.

By vastly increasing the splendors of his court, the Kaiser has also materially heightened his personal influence. The simple and unostentatious manners and customs prevailing at the Berlin court during the days of William I. have been superseded by an elaborateness of ceremonial, a brilliancy of appointments and costumes, and a display of taste and refined luxury which rival, and in some features even surpass, the elegancies of the Tuileries under Napoleon III. The exterior and interior of Berlin Castle, and of several other royal homes belonging to the Prussian monarchs, have been renovated and embellished, and connoisseurs claim that the so-called White Hall in Berlin Castle, in its new guise, is the most beautiful and chaste extant. The banquets given by the Kaiser on grand days enjoy a deservedly high reputation among European diplomats, and the royal cellars are unequalled to-day in any capital. The pressure to attend the Berlin court festivities has on account of all this become stronger every year. But in like ratio has the Kaiser's tendency increased to render these festivities exclusive.

All these means used by the Kaiser to extend and strengthen his influence on every class of the population are legitimate. But some other means he uses are open to serious objection, for they amount to nothing less than an overriding of the constitution. It was Bismarck who drew up that fundamental instrument, and it contains provisions clearly defining not alone the powers and prerogatives of the Emperor, but also those of the Imperial Chan-

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cellor. One of these provisions is to the effect that every public utterance by the Emperor, oral or written, must receive the sanction of the Imperial Chancellor to acquire the character of a government emanation. Without that such utterances are to be considered merely as private enunciations, having no binding force on the sovereign, the government, or the nation. The constitution provides that every document signed or written by the Emperor in his public capacity must have the counter-signature of the Imperial Chancellor, whereby he, the Chancellor, assumes the responsibility for it toward the nation and its representatives in Bundesrath and Reichstag, and becomes amenable to them. Bismarck in his Memoirs says that the intent was to render the Chancellor alone responsible, he having identified himself with the monarch's act or expression by his signature, and thus "shield" the sovereign; the further inference being that if it becomes manifest at any time that the nation, through the majority of its representatives, disapproves of measures or opinions thus endorsed by the Chancellor, the sovereign has the simple remedy of dismissing the Chancellor and appointing a successor.

This important provision of the German constitution has been practically nullified by the Kaiser for many years past. He has declared himself in favor of projects or pending measures; he has proclaimed a new policy, or an important alteration in an old one; he has launched the ship of state into the troubled waters of a dangerous adventure, without even first consulting with his Chancellor. This he did throughout the Hohenlohe régime, and he has done it on several occasions since the present Chancellor came into power. The seizure of Kiaochou was a step undertaken not alone without the knowledge of the Chancellor, but directly against his will. If Germany at that time had become involved in war with China, that war would have been due to a flagrant violation of the constitution by the Kaiser. Public declarations have been made scores of times by the Kaiser, condemning or approving men and measures, without previous consultation with his Chancellors. Yet, while thus ignoring the constitution himself, the Kaiser has, when such utterances of his were adversely criticised, taken advantage of the existing very illiberal judicial practice, by prosecuting such critics, whom he, on a conspicuous occasion, styled "*Nörgler*" (fault-finders), and whom he advised to "shake the dust of the fatherland off their shoes." If these

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utterances of his had been made with the consent, or over the signature, of the Imperial Chancellor, they would have become fit subjects for criticism within reasonable bounds. But by this doubly unfair proceeding on the Kaiser's part neither the Reichstag nor the nation at large is permitted to pronounce public judgment on his sayings and doings.

Again, the Kaiser has, contrary to the constitution, practically monopolized the direction of the foreign policy of Germany for many years—in fact, ever since the retirement of Bismarck. The Empire's foreign policy, by the explicit terms of the constitution, is left wholly to the Chancellor. If the Kaiser be not satisfied with the Chancellor's foreign policy, he can dismiss him. But the Kaiser found it more to his taste to shape the Empire's foreign policy entirely according to his own ideas, making the Chancellor, at least in this important respect, a mere figure-head. Bismarck, with whom he first tried these tactics, would not submit and was retired. Caprivi, a soldier before being a statesman, and regarding the Kaiser solely as his commander-in-chief, obeyed blindly. Hohenlohe, who was of a different moral and intellectual fibre, disliked being thus cavalierly treated, and finally resigned. How long von Bülow will submit to this treatment remains to be seen.

These are the two most important features in which the Kaiser shows a studied and persistent disregard of the constitution. But there have been other, less important, instances in which he has shown small respect for the instrument which created his position. These autocratic leanings of his would, in other countries with a longer past of constitutionalism, be a most dangerous defect. But in Germany, where parliamentarism is an importation, which has by no means as yet been as firmly established as in England, France, or even Italy, these absolutistic tendencies of the Emperor figure not nearly so prominently in the people's eyes as one might think. For what in Germany is termed the "monarchic principle" is rooted very deeply in the heart of the nation as a whole. The Socialists are the only exception; all the rest of the nation, say three-fourths of it, is intensely monarchic.

But, after all, it is the personal influence of the Kaiser which is most potent. His forceful personality simply compels attention. For years after his accession millions of Germans stood aloof, ignoring his kaleidoscopic activity, and firmly believing that after he had "sown his wild oats," and after the novelty of the

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situation into which he had been summoned so unexpectedly had worn off, he would cease his pyrotechnic interference in every phase of public life. But these would-be "indifferents" were forced to abandon their attitude. When, after one of his speeches, often ill-advised, flamboyant and overshooting the mark, but always striking and earnest, the press of the whole world would be ringing with comment, and at every German fireside heated discussions *pro* and *con* would take place, these sober-minded Germans, while still condemning his methods, found it impossible to stand supinely aside. The Kaiser, on every weighty problem that came to the surface for solution, would split the nation into two hostile camps, stimulating discussion and keeping both adherents and opponents of his views at fever heat. It is this sensational side of his personal influence, probably more than any other, which has been, and is still being, felt most strongly. Into every political campaign in Germany he has thrown fire-brands in the shape of mottoes, pithy and apt sayings, sarcastic allusions, or ironical retorts to his adversaries. Every weapon of warfare has been successfully employed by him.

When the Kaiser disapproved of the violent Agrarian agitation in 1894, he coined the phrase: "You cannot expect me to sanction bread usury." And the phrase flew like wildfire all over Germany. When he dedicated the important Baltic-North Sea Canal, he said: "Oceans unite; they do not sever," and, similarly: "The world's present motto is, 'Easy Communication.'" When he considered it necessary to check the advancing tide of Socialism, he spoke of the Socialist party, numerically the largest in his Empire, as: "A horde of men unworthy to bear the name of Germans." And the bitter words still rankle in the breast of every German Socialist. When he rebuked the Ultramontane Centre Party for refusing to do honor to Bismarck on his eightieth birthday, he said: "This is a national disgrace, unequalled in modern history." When he had veered around in his ideas on the Agrarian question, he said: "Agriculture is the backbone of the country, and it must be protected." He coined the phrase about the "Greater Germany," and said: "Our future lies upon the water"; and, more strongly: "Without the consent of Germany's ruler, nothing must happen in any part of the world." His sayings about the "mailed fist," about "planting the banner of Germany upon the walls of Pekin," about the "yellow danger,"

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and all the other highly colored and startling sentences descriptive of his conception of the situation in China, are still in everybody's recollection.

Now and then he has been checkmated, or even defeated outright. But despite occasional rebuffs, the Kaiser, in nine cases out of ten, has had his way, and is likely to have it in the future. His influence to-day is felt more strongly than that of any other single factor in Germany. In some ways this has been beneficial to Germany. It has led to the adoption of the most comprehensive plan of naval increase. It has infused more enterprise and self-confidence into the nation. It has inaugurated Germany's World Policy. Despite the fact that the nation gave undue prominence to sentimental considerations during the Spanish and the Boer wars, and thereby embittered relations, first with this country, and next with England, it has steered the ship of state so cleverly as to lead to the present *rapprochement* with this nation, and to a maintenance of correct relations with England.

The Kaiser's influence upon education and upon science in Germany has been great and, in the main, wholesome. He has clearly perceived the urgent need of remodelling the German educational system on new lines, lines more in accord with the requirements of this age of practical things; and his ideas, though at first they met the united opposition of the professional pedagogues of the old school, are now slowly prevailing. In the wide domain of applied science the Kaiser's influence has also wrought a vast amount of good.

But the incalculable harm done by the Kaiser's influence in other fields of public life probably more than balances accounts. For one thing, it has lowered the national standard of political thought and liberty. To all intents and purposes Germany, though nominally enjoying a constitutional form of government, is ruled autocratically.

On German literary and art life the personal influence of the Kaiser has also been noxious in the highest degree. He has waged, with more or less success, a savage war upon that highly interesting movement known variously as "Secessionist" or "Realistic," and of which, in literature, Hauptmann and Sudermann have been the main standard bearers, and in art, Böcklin, Liebermann, Klinger, Thoma, Stuck, and others. With all his might he has fought this movement, the most promising Germany

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has known for a century, and despite its extreme and unwise partisans one powerfully moulding German thought and ideals. In place of it the Kaiser has, so far as lay in his power, substituted tame mediocrity, as strikingly exemplified by his own marble "ancestral gallery" in the Siegesallee in Berlin, and by the bombastic historical dramas of Joseph Lauff, the latter owing their very existence to the Kaiser's inspiration.

But perhaps the most portentous injury, and certainly the most completely achieved, done to German public life by the Kaiser's personal influence, is that inflicted upon the press and periodical literature. The freedom of the press, guaranteed not only by the Imperial Constitution, but by those of Prussia and the other German states, has been practically destroyed by him. The practice of the courts all over Germany, from the lowest to the highest, has been, since the accession of William II., growingly and steadily illiberal and systematically inimical to the press. Honest expression of opinion, whenever it contravened the Kaiser's ideas and convictions, has been so persistently and severely punished that it may be said to be effectually muzzled. There has never been any régime in Germany, so far as the records go, during which convictions for *lèse majesté* and all sorts of press offences have been even approximately as numerous. All this is not only in consonance with the Kaiser's wishes, but it is in large measure directly due to him, the appointment of the judges forming the highest tribunal in the Empire, and the positions leading up to this highest court, being under his control. The Kaiser has never during the fourteen years of his reign pardoned a single one of these offenders against his own dignity, nor even shortened, in any instance, their penalty. Besides, he has often expressed downright hostility to a free press.

In the Kaiser's veins mingle strange and unharmonious elements—the blood of the Hohenzollerns, than which there is none more matter-of-fact in Europe, nor more cool and well disciplined, and the blood of the Guelphs, than which there is none more stubborn, proud and unruly. William II. shows very distinctly this double lineage in his physical as well as his mental make-up. When one keeps this in mind, the discordant qualities of his personal influence, in its baneful as well as its beneficial effects, are more justly appreciated and adjusted.

WOLF VON SCHIERBRAND.

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THE PROROGUED TURKISH PARLIAMENT.

BY KARL BLIND.

In the midst of the terrible excitement of the long-continued South-African war, an important event has passed almost unobserved, concerning the future and the fate of the Ottoman Empire. I refer to the split within the "Young Turkish" party of Reformers, which broke out at the recent Paris Congress.

If there is any hope for a bettering of the sad state of things in the Near East, which has so often proved a storm-centre for Europe, it lies in the restoration of that short-lived Ottoman Parliament whose dissolution, or rather prorogation, was decreed by Sultan Abdul Hamid in 1878, when a Russian army was thundering at the gates of Constantinople. To work for the re-convocation of that Parliament has been the object of the Young Turks.

"Young Turks" they are usually called. But, in point of fact, they are men of the various nationalities comprised within the Ottoman Empire.

A patriotic Ottoman feeling, together with a warm zeal for bringing about reforms in the direction of representative government, has hitherto characterized the Young Turkish party. Their desire has been to prevent the Empire from being gradually broken up or partitioned by aggressive foreign action. They wish to connect its component populations by closer ties through common parliamentary institutions, so that Turks, Armenians, Albanese, Syrians, Arabs, and whatever scattered remnants of Bulgars and Greeks there are still in the Ottoman dominions, should meet once more in a common parliament.

In the Assembly of 1877-8 all creeds had been represented: Mohammedans, Greek Catholics, Roman Catholics, Armenian Christians, Protestants, and Jews. And, truly, they then pulled well together on lines of Liberalism, as against despotism.

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Since the overthrow of the Constitution in 1878, quite a number of committees of progressive men of various blood, speech, and faith have been in existence, outside and partly even inside the Ottoman Empire—in eastern Europe, in Asia Minor, in Egypt, and along northern Africa, as well as in Switzerland, France, and England. Many of them have agitated, as exiles, by means of publications in Turkish, in Arabic, and in French smuggled into the Sultan's dominions.

The foremost of them is Ahmed Riza, the son of an ex-Minister, a man who in his youth made brilliant studies in Paris, travelled in Europe, and occupied afterwards a position in the University in Constantinople and in the Department of Public Instruction. Tall and well-formed, he is, in bodily appearance, so unlike a Turk that he might pass for a German or an Englishman. As an exile, he publishes a periodical, called "*Mechveret*" ("The Consultation"). It is a paper written with much moderation, in a patriotic and Liberal spirit, and almost academic in tone. Very frequently, also, in the columns of the "*Mechveret,*" due warning is given as to Russian designs. Parliamentary reform is urged in that paper both from the point of view of justice and principle, and as a means of warding off that foreign interference which is ever threatening from many quarters.

It was hoped that at the last Paris Congress of Young Turkish Reformers this Liberal and patriotic programme would be firmly upheld. Very unexpectedly, the opposite has happened. Among the forty-seven delegates assembled, there were Turks, Arabs, Greeks, Kurds, Albanese, Armenians, Tcherkesses, and Jews. Two sons of Mahmud Damad Pasha—a brother-in-law of Abdul Hamid—joined the Congress. Their names are, Princes Sahab-eddin and Lutfullah. All of them were exiles.

At the Congress, Prince Sahab-eddin took the chair. In a preparatory sitting, the party of Ahmed Riza had drawn up a programme, which contained the following points:

1. A declaration of loyalty towards the ruling dynasty within the limits of law;

2. Promotion of modern, progressive civilization among the adherents of the Mohammedan creed; and protection of other religions on the same footing of equality;

3. Establishment of harmonious political co-operation among all Ottomans, Mussulman or non-Mussulman.

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4. Adoption of the Constitution, which was promulgated in 1875, as the basis of government.

This programme was still strengthened at a subsequent preparatory meeting, under the chairmanship of Halil Ganem, the able and active fellow-worker of Ahmed Riza. He was a member for Syria in the Parliament which sat at Constantinople twenty-five years ago. Formerly he edited, at Geneva, a paper called "*The Crescent*" ("*Hilal*"), and he afterwards became the founder of "*La Jeune Turquie*," another progressist organ, which appeared in Arabic and French. In the programme drawn up at his initiative, the "maintenance of the integrity and indissolubility of the Ottoman Empire" was combined with "the respect for the fundamental laws of the country, especially of the Constitution of 1876, which offers the surest and most precious guarantee of general reforms." A number of members of the Congress adhered to this declaration.

When, however, the delegates met in full congress, a kind of mine was sprung upon the programmes just described. A member, who began with an eloquent denunciation of the Sultan's despotism, proposed an additional paragraph, in which the Powers that had signed the Paris Treaty of 1856 and the Berlin Treaty of 1878 were called upon to employ "benevolent action" for making the above-named principles of good government a reality, and for seeing the international treaties properly executed.

Mild as the phrasing of this proposal was, it contained the germ of the gravest danger. It called foreign Powers into the field; and far-seeing Turkish patriots know only too well what that means. Hence Halil Ganem, Ahmed Riza, and several other delegates energetically opposed this motion.

On their part, two Armenian members supported it with extreme warmth. The sitting became very tumultuous. Finally, the President, the son of the Sultan's brother-in-law, mixing repeatedly in the fray in favor of foreign intervention, succeeded in having that proposal passed by a majority in which not Turks, but Greeks and Albanese, were prominent.

Six meetings were held. The outcome of them was a schism in the party—"a schism which," as the "*Mechveret*" says, "must be deplored by all patriots who desire solidarity between the divers racial elements of the Empire." The Armenians, it is reported, drew up a programme of their own. They declared that

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they would "only make common cause with the Young Turks for the overthrow of the present régime," but not further.

Here I may state at once a fact little known, or too often forgotten, concerning Armenian nationality. In European Turkey there is only a sprinkling of that Christian race. In Asia Minor, even, it is numerically by no means in a majority in those provinces which usually are called Armenian. Turks and Kurds are the majority even there. On the other hand, the Armenians form a majority in that part of their ancient country which is now under the dominion of the Czar. Now, were it possible to wrest that Armenian province from Russia, there might be a possibility of reconstituting an Armenian realm. But as there is no prospect of Russia's giving up, or being made to give up, her prey, the result of a separate constitution of so-called "Armenian provinces" in Asiatic Turkey would lead to such a state of confusion that annexation of that part also of Asiatic Turkey to the Muscovite Empire would be the inevitable and deplorable end.

Foiled at the Congress, the patriotic Young Turkish delegates made, at one of the last sittings, protest against all foreign intervention. In this utterance it is declared that "the various Powers are only guided by self-interest, which is by no means always in accord with the interest of our country. Hence, we distinctly reject action which would encroach upon the independence of the Ottoman Empire." At the same time, these Young Turks repeated that they are "by no means hostile to Europe. On the contrary, one of our chief desires is to have European civilization spread in our country, especially as regards scientific progress and useful institutions."

The majority of the Congress, however, proceeded to the election of a Committee, with Prince Sahab-eddin at its head. It is composed of four Mohammedans and three Christians, the latter including one Armenian.

Strangely enough, this Committee is said to have obtained the adherence of the Armenian delegates, although these latter roundly declared that they "would never wish to see the six provinces of Anatolia subjected to the Ottoman Constitution." Rather would they act with the Macedonian Committee, which, it need not be said, works for a further breaking-up of Turkey.

On their part, the Young Turks of the "*Mechveret*" connection intend to pursue their own work as before. A new organ

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of theirs is to be founded by the fusion of three similar existing ones. It is to be called "*Chouraï-Ummett*" ("National Grand Council"), and will appear twice a month in Turkish.

Some details as to the origin of the Young Turkish movement, and the former existence of that Ottoman Parliament which its leaders want to be restored, will here be in place.

About thirty-six years ago, a group of men of the younger generation, mainly from the learned class, began an agitation which had for its aim the abolition of the arbitrary form of government; the convocation of a Representation of the People; the controlling of the public exchequer by such a Parliament; and the introduction of civil and religious equality for all races and creeds. Some men of riper age made common cause with these young and ardent reformers. Midhat Pasha, though not belonging to the group of "Young Turkey," was at any rate looked upon as one of its hopes.

It was Midhat who, in the years before 1876, repeatedly sought to awaken the Porte—that is, the Ministerial Government, as distinct from the Palace or Sultanate—to the necessity of representative government. For some time he failed in his efforts. They only resulted in his occasional personal disgrace at Court, and in the banishment, or voluntary exile, of the persecuted Young Turks.

However, after a while, Constantinople was deeply agitated by the Softa risings—a popular movement officered by Turkish students and teachers, and supported by the better educated class of Mohammedans in general. Finally, a Parliament for the whole Empire was convoked, and civil and political equality proclaimed for all races and creeds. This occurred in 1876, almost immediately after the present Sultan had come to the throne.

Those who know of him to-day only as a relentless tyrant, may wonder when told of the declaration and the promises he then made. Abdul Hamid was thirty-four years of age at that time, and apparently imbued with the best intentions. The gradual decline of the Empire, he frankly said, was due to existing disorders in the administration. Invoking, on what he called "this happy day" of the proclamation of a Charter, the memory of his father, he declared that, if his sire had lived longer, a constitutional era would have been inaugurated already under him. Providence had, however, reserved for himself the task of bringing about this

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fortunate transformation, which would prove the highest guarantee of the welfare of his subjects. For this, he expressed his thanks to Heaven. He went on to speak of "the abuses which are the consequence of the arbitrary rule of one or of a few individuals." He then referred in detail to the principles of the new Charter: the responsibility of Ministers; the parliamentary right of control; the independence of the Courts of Justice; and the equilibrium of the Budget. All this, he asserted, was in conformity with the doctrines of the Mohammedan religion.

Again, in a later speech, the young Sultan said to Parliament:

"If we have not reached the level of the progress attained in the civilized world, the cause is to be sought in the instability of the institutions which are necessary to the State, and of the laws and regulations that are their outcome. That instability is produced by the fact of everything having hitherto been the work of an *absolutist* Government which ignored the salutary principle of a deliberation in common."

In a further harangue, Abdul Hamid once more declared: "The welfare of the Empire wholly lies in the full and sincere application of the Constitution."

Could any words be more binding upon a ruler?

Now, how did that Parliament behave? And how was it received by the population at large?

Sir Henry Elliot, who represented England at the Porte in most critical days, has given valuable testimony on those points. He wrote that the Charter

"was received with absolutely unanimous acclamation by all the Christians, Greeks, or Armenians, who saw in it the dawn of better days, as also by the educated and better class of Turks, Softas and others; but it was regarded with unqualified aversion by the Palace sycophants and the corrupt official Pashas and their followers, who trembled for the abuses on which they had so long fattened."

As originally drafted by Midhat—Sir Henry Elliot added—the Charter had contained even more efficient guarantees than the Act finally accepted by the Sultan. Yet, even in the weakened form in which it was published, it was of a character which must have made Russians sigh for a similar boon.

The legislators so unexpectedly collected from all parts of the Ottoman Empire did a remarkable deal of excellent work. I carefully went at the time through the whole of their debates in 1877-78 in the French text of the Constantinople press; and I was

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astonished afterwards to learn, from men conversant with Turkish, who had often been present at the sittings, that the reports of these lively discussions had even been considerably toned down in the official version. Sir Henry Layard, the English Ambassador, has also recorded his appreciative testimony in honor of that Parliament, which had two sessions—one lasting three months.

There were a Senate and a Parliament. In the Constitution more specially elaborated by the legislators, it was enacted that every 50,000 male citizens were to elect a member to the House of Commons. The vote was to be by ballot. Every deputy was regarded as representing, not merely his constituency, but the nation at large. Members of both Houses were to be paid. The sittings of the Chamber of Deputies were public. No member could be arrested or prosecuted without the consent of the Chamber. The initiative in bringing in bills belonged both to Ministers and to private members. The Budget was to be fixed every year by the House of Commons. In case of an adverse vote, the Sultan had to change the Cabinet or to dissolve Parliament. The House of Commons had the right of bringing Ministers to trial before the High Court of Justice. A Minister thus charged was in the mean time suspended. Judges were irremovable; the procedures of all tribunals were public. Whilst the unity of the Empire was upheld, there was to be decentralization in local government. In the provinces, the districts, and the cantons, special Councils had to be formed on the elective principle.

Add to this, that, in the original Charter granted by the Sultan, freedom of the press; equality before the law; admission of all citizens, irrespective of race and religion, to the various public employments; liberty in matters of public instruction for all denominations; obligatory popular instruction; an equal imposition of taxes in accordance with the amount of property; free exercise of every religious cult; abolition of torture and of confiscation of property, had already been proclaimed as the basis of the Constitution, and it will be seen that there was indeed good promise for the future. The Sultan, while remaining Protector or Defender of the State Religion, was henceforth to be surrounded by responsible ministers. His person was to be inviolable.

This introduction of parliamentary government and civic freedom into Turkey displeased the Czar very much. It was held to be a dangerous example for his own subjects. "What?"—they

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might be expected to call out—"are we not even to have the liberties which the Turks enjoy?"

With a jealousy easily understood by those who knew the famous despatch of the Russian diplomatist, Pozzo di Borgo—who wrote it in the first year of the war waged by Czar Nicholas against Turkey (1828-29)—the Government of St. Petersburg anxiously watched, in 1877, these constitutional developments in the neighboring Ottoman Empire. In Pozzo di Borgo's despatch it was cynically avowed that, whenever there was "a commencement of physical and moral organization which Turkey had hitherto not possessed," Russia must make haste to counteract such plans of reform and amelioration, lest the barriers against her advance towards Constantinople should present even greater difficulties! "Things being in this state," Pozzo di Borgo, in explaining the Emperor's views, finally said, "we must congratulate ourselves upon having attacked these plans of reform before they became dangerous to us."

Here we have a pretty plain clew as to Russian Government procedures under Nicholas I. Again, we get from Mr. Layard, the English Ambassador at Constantinople in the seventies, the following characteristic statement, officially made in a letter of his to Lord Derby, the Foreign Secretary:

"A Russian gentleman observed to me: 'Russia looks upon the establishment of a Constitution and a Parliament by the Turkish Government as an insult and a defiance to her. *Their existence would alone furnish us with a sufficient reason to make war upon Turkey.* We will never consent to be the only Power left in Europe without Constitutional institutions; and as we are not prepared for them, we cannot, it is evident, allow Turkey to have them.'"

Unfortunately, England, which in the fifties had opposed Nicholas I., showed no friendliness to the cause of Turkish reform in the seventies. Worse than that, the great "Liberal" leader did his utmost to foil a movement which seemed to be of such good augury. Led astray by his theological and High Church prejudices, Mr. Gladstone, who described the whole Turkish nation as "the one anti-human specimen of humanity," gave his party a deplorably wrong cue. Nothing, in fact, could have been more unwelcome to him than the practical demonstration of the readiness and the aptitude of the Turk to work out his own political salvation by means of internal reform. Hence, those

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around Mr. Gladstone gave the signal for ridiculing such praiseworthy aspirations.

Yet, the fact is that, if the Russian army had been defeated at Plevna, and if the Czar, who passed anxious hours there at the long-continued siege, had been forced to retreat, he would have found the draft for a Constitution presented to him upon the bayonets of the National Guard in his own holy city of Moscow.

However, whilst English Liberals, then in Opposition, were misled by Gladstone, Mr. Disraeli, at the head of the Conservative Government, was foiled by members of his own Cabinet—notably by Lord Derby. To Derby's father the Tory Premier, in his youth, had been deeply indebted, when he, the ex-Radical and ambitious adventurer of foreign, Jewish extraction, had to make his headway against the feelings of aversion that met him among a bigoted squirearchy. The recollection of this support in times of difficulty and distress made Disraeli yield, to a considerable extent, to the policy of his Foreign Secretary, who evidently played a double part. Finally, Lord Derby, after he had shielded Russia as far as he could dare to go, left Disraeli's Cabinet and went over to Gladstone!

I could say more on this subject, especially also in reference to a long conversation I had with Mr. Disraeli before the Russo-Turkish war at the House of Commons. It was he who sought the interview when he had heard from a common friend, a Liberal Scottish member, with whom I dined at the House, that I was there.

For a full hour, all the problems both of the Near East and the Far East were discussed on that occasion. Great was my astonishment, I confess, on finding then how strangely ill-informed Disraeli was on those subjects. The very questions he put, in presence of my friend, proved his lack of knowledge.

It is not to be forgotten how Mr. Gladstone, only a few years afterwards, acted again, when there was a second attempt of a Mohammedan people to achieve a parliamentary transformation—namely, in Egypt. That movement had the publicly declared sympathy of the heads of the Christian and Jewish communities of Egypt. Yet, Mr. Gladstone, plotting with a small "inner ring" of his Cabinet, and keeping such prominent members of it as John Bright outside the secret consultations, suddenly startled the world by the bombardment of Alexandria, without even a

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declaration of war. By all means a nation mainly composed of adherents of Islam had to be prevented from showing that it was capable of reforming itself.

Such are the bitter fruits of theological hatred!

Turks and Armenians, Greeks, Albanese, Bulgars, Syrians, and Arabs had harmoniously worked together in the Ottoman Parliament of 1877-78. But in the Palace, at Yildiz Kiosk, the progressive tendencies of that Assembly were uneasily looked upon as proceeding at a rather fast rate. Its last days were of a troubled and stormy kind. The hangers-on at Court, bearing a deep grudge to Midhat, the author of the Charter, had succeeded in getting him exiled by the Sultan. On their part, the representatives of the people energetically asked for Midhat's recall, both on account of the war then going on, for which an able leader was wanted, and because Parliament felt itself threatened. This question, as well as one about the Budget, created a hostile stir at the Palace.

In the mean while, the Russian army had arrived, under Grand-Duke Nicholas, in close neighborhood of Constantinople. It was able to hold a bayonet, so to say, to the throat of the Turkish Government and Parliament. In the midst of this threatening state of things, Abdul Hamid prorogued the Legislature.

It was prorogued (let this be well borne in mind), not abolished. In the Decree issued by the Sultan, and in a communication made to the Ambassadors, it was distinctly declared that *Parliament would be convoked anew after the conclusion of peace.*

I will not enter here into the deplorable occurrences which, later on, began with the eccentric and rather mysterious irruption of Armenians into the Ottoman Bank at Constantinople, and which led to the frightful reprisals by Turkish cudgel-men. The band of strange heroes who originated these troubles was utterly unknown to the Armenians in Turkey, and officered by men who had come from Russia. Two of their leaders, when interviewed at Geneva, laughingly declared that the man who had proposed the irruption into the Ottoman Bank, had also suggested the "burning of all Constantinople, which is entirely in wood."

The rift between the real "Young Turks" and their Armenian allies has since become more and more pronounced. I refrain from going into the details which I have heard from both sides. It is by the Armenians, to whom some Greeks and Albanese have

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rallied, that the parole of calling upon foreign Powers for "benevolent action" is now given out. On this point, Halil Ganem wrote some years ago, when a "Crusade," a "Partition of Turkey," or the introduction of a "European Protectorate," was called for by some agitators abroad:

"We want our country to maintain its independence, its full independence. The Ottoman People, which is henceforth to direct its own destiny, shall not be loaded with chains, nor drag a ball behind its feet. We do not mean to escape from the despotism of the dreary monarch who rules over us, for the purpose of submitting to an even more intolerable despotism. If we must perish, we will perish ra r than submit to such a yoke, which would dishonor without saving u ."

Nevertheless, now, a majority of those who hither co-operated with the Young Turkish party—mainly men of different race from the Osmanli—have practically pronounced in favor of foreign intervention under the guidance of the son of Abdul Hamid's brother-in-law.

But, to far-seeing politicians, it is clear that any foreign intervention would dangerously bring in Russia, whose Autocrats have for centuries aimed at the possession of Constantinople—a possession which, if in the hands of a strong military Power, would, in the opinion of Napoleon I., "confer upon that Power a world-dominion."

Had Nicholas I. succeeded in his attempt, in 1854, and thus gained access to the Mediterranean, Italy would, in all probability, never have achieved her unity. Nor would Hungary have recovered that self-government which in 1849 had been overthrown by armed Russian intervention. Nor would Austria proper have re-obtained those constitutional liberties which Imperial and Royal reaction, aided by Slav revenge, had abolished in 1849, after the sanguinary siege of Vienna.

Foreign intervention in Turkey, in our present days, would give rise to rivalries which would convert the Continent of Europe into shambles. Such a cure of the Sultan's misgovernment would be worse than the existing evil. All thinking friends of progress can, therefore, only hope that the Young Turkish reformers may be able so to influence the mass of their countrymen as to bring about the re-convocation of the prorogued Parliament of 1878.

KARL BLIND.

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IMMIGRATION'S MENACE TO THE NATIONAL HEALTH.

BY T. V. POWDERLY, COMMISSIONER-GENERAL OF IMMIGRATION.

MUCH has been said and much remains to be said of the evils likely to follow the admission of the alien criminal, pauper, anarchist and contract laborer who seek safety, an asylum or a workshop in the United States. The morals of the immigrant, the likelihood of his falling into distress and becoming a burden on our taxpayers, the possibilities of his carrying with him, or developing after landing, anarchistic tendencies, have all occupied the thought and attention of students of public questions; but the physical condition, the health, of the arriving applicant for the honor of American citizenship has not occupied the place in the discussion to which the gravity of that particular phase of the question entitles it. Many who study the immigration problem have in mind the immigrant as he presented himself at the port of landing in the early and middle decades of the last century, and they talk of him as he then was. They have before their mind's eye the sturdy Englishman, Irishman, Scotchman, Welshman, German and north countryman who came strong in limb and pure in blood. When opposition to immigration manifested itself in early days it was based on political or religious grounds; those who then wrote on the subject were actuated by a fear that the infusion of so much alien blood into our national system would pollute the stream of political life and weaken the strength of our institutions. They may have had cause for apprehension, they may have had reason to view the immigrants of their day with alarm, but it must not be forgotten that they were writing about an alien stream that had its source, or sources, in lands to which they looked with pride when tracing their own genealogy. The immigration of that day distributed itself over

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the entire country. With the massing of aliens in the centres of industry, grew a demand for the regulation of the system under which immigrants gained access to the United States. The popular idea is that immigration laws, passed during the last two decades, are intended to restrict, or lessen, the number of arrivals. No law has been enacted to prevent the strong, the willing, the honest, the moral or the healthy from landing, only certain classes are denied the right to come among us and take up a residence here. The proscription of these classes is intended to sift, rather than to restrict, immigration. The immigration law of 1891 provides, among other things, that the following classes of aliens shall be excluded:

"All idiots, insane persons, paupers or persons likely to become a public charge, *persons suffering from a loathsome or a dangerous contagious disease*, persons who have been convicted of a felony or other infamous crime or misdemeanor involving moral turpitude, polygamists and also any person whose ticket or passage is paid for with the money of another or who is assisted by others to come, unless it is affirmatively and satisfactorily shown on special inquiry that such person does not belong to one of the foregoing excluded classes, or to the class of contract laborers excluded by the act of February 26, 1885."

The immigration authorities have experienced little difficulty in enforcing the provision by which idiots are barred, for very few of that class present themselves for admission. Insane persons, or those in whom the taint of insanity slumbers, have occasioned little or no anxiety or trouble at our ports, for cases in which aliens actually insane at the time of arrival have been barred, are rare. Persons who have been insane at home usually prepare for the passage to the United States at a time when the malady does not manifest itself externally; and, presenting a good appearance on arrival, aliens in whose systems the seeds of insanity lay dormant have frequently been admitted. Many instances may be cited to show that such persons have gained access to public institutions in one or the other of our States and have been deported within one year after landing. The deportation of an insane person, whether on arrival and before landing, or afterwards from the interior, is always effected without protest or opposition. Relatives and friends are usually pleased to be rid of them. Paupers, or persons likely to become a public charge, are easily dealt with; for, if likely to become a charge on the charity of the community, they may be deported without ques-

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tion, unless relatives or friends guarantee under bond, in cases where bonds may be accepted, that they will not become public charges. If the record of conviction of a "felony or other infamous crime or misdemeanor involving moral turpitude" is present at the time of arrival of an alien, he may be sent back; but in most cases no such record is in evidence, or accessible to the immigrant inspector, and until the criminal instinct is manifested in some overt act later on, the alien may never be suspected of having been a criminal in his own country.

Polygamists, unless practising polygamy, or acknowledging that it is their intention to practise it, are not excluded. In the case of a polygamist, much depends on the state of facts presented to the inspector. The alien may admit that he is a believer in polygamy and be landed, for such avowal is usually accompanied by a declaration of his belief in some form of religion which sanctions polygamy. The Constitution declares that "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof." The alien polygamist is usually an intelligent person; furthermore, he is apt to be well coached by some missionary of polygamist tendencies, and while admitting that he is a believer in polygamy will, in the same breath, deny that he is practising or intends practising polygamy.

The aliens, therefore, who give the immigration authorities the most trouble are those who come "suffering from a loathsome or a dangerous contagious disease"; and, of these, persons afflicted with Favus and Trachoma are most numerous. In other cases, excepting idiots, and these are so few as to give little trouble or concern to the government officials, admissions or confessions of the alien are required, but where Favus and Trachoma are present the alien presents the evidence to the Marine Hospital Surgeon who inspects all arrivals, it being external and difficult of concealment. The definition of Favus, as given in the Standard Dictionary, is: "A contagious disease of the skin, especially of the scalp, producing yellow flattened scabs and baldness, scald-head, honeycomb ringworm." The same authority defines Trachoma as: "A disease of the eye, characterized by hard pustules or granular excrescences on the inner surface of the eyelids, with inflammation of the membrane."

Until recently, the people of the United States were not familiar with either Favus or Trachoma; and until the tide of

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immigration swelled up, and began to flow in on us from the countries of southern Europe and the Orient, these diseases were not very prevalent. Even now, many well-informed persons inquire what is meant when an immigrant is described as one suffering from Favus or Trachoma. When I assumed the duties of Commissioner-General of Immigration, I was ignorant of the nature of these afflictions. While the law expressly prohibited persons suffering from such diseases from landing, it was also held that, until an alien had been examined, pronounced entitled to admission and actually passed inward to this land of liberty, he was constructively on ship-board and, as a consequence, not landed. The hospitals in and around New York city were crowded with sick and disabled immigrants during the months of August and September, 1897, as a result of the burning of the Ellis Island Immigrant Station and Hospital in June of that year. Examining the reports sent in from these hospitals, I noticed that a great number were held to be treated for Favus and Trachoma, and for the first time I learned what these diseases actually were.

It was not to punish the steamship companies or the unfortunate aliens that the determination was reached by the Commissioner-General of Immigration to prevent, as far as possible, not only the landing of diseased aliens, but their embarkation at foreign seaports with the intention of landing in this country. The following, from the report of the Commissioner-General for the fiscal year ended June 30th, 1898, in which he refers to the bringing of persons "afflicted with a loathsome or a dangerous contagious disease" to the United States, will explain in part what was done to make the law effective:

"The last-named class represents virtually a new departure in the work of the Bureau, since the rejections on that ground rose from a single immigrant last year to 258 for the present fiscal year. This does not show, as may appear at first sight, laxity heretofore on the part of immigrant officials, but displays their increased efficiency in detecting and excluding cases of contagious diseases which are less obvious upon examination and of the nature of which less is known outside the medical profession than of the more generally recognized and easily detected forms of contagion.

"Most of the exclusions upon this ground represent aliens afflicted either with favus, a disease of the scalp, or trachoma, commonly known as granular eyelids. The former is confined almost exclusively to young persons, and, unless a careful inspection is made, the afflicted person

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may be admitted without detection. Protracted treatment is required in order to effect a cure, but experienced physicians contend that the disease is likely to become virulent, even after a course of hospital treatment.

"The difficulty in dealing with those afflicted with favus is that the separation of families is likely to follow the deportation of the afflicted immigrant, and this has occasioned immigration officials no little embarrassment and uneasiness. The question whether it would be better to deport such a person immediately on arrival and thus sunder family ties or, by delay of treatment, risk introducing this disease among the children of Americans, has been under discussion for some time, and it was decided to protect the children of the United States, even though hardship should follow the deportation of afflicted persons. With that end in view the following circular was issued:

"'TREASURY DEPARTMENT,

"'OFFICE COMMISSIONER-GENERAL OF IMMIGRATION,

"'WASHINGTON, D. C., *October 19, 1897.*

"'*To Commissioners of Immigration, Collectors of Customs, and Immigrant Inspectors:*

"'In view of the prevalence among arriving immigrants of favus, a loathsome, contagious disease, you are hereby instructed to make a careful examination in order to insure the detection of all such cases and their immediate return to the country whence they came, if possible, by the steamship upon which they arrive, otherwise as soon as practicable by a steamship of the same line, at the expense of said line.

"'If the certificate of the examining physician in this country indicates that the disease existed at the time of alien's embarkation, or that symptoms had developed at that time which the transportation company's physician might, with reasonable care, have detected, steps should be taken for the prosecution of such company, as provided by section 6 of the act of March 3, 1891.

"'If any minor alien, suffering with said loathsome disease, is accompanied by its parents, one parent should be returned with such alien as its natural guardian and protector.

"'All cases of aliens afflicted with favus now confined in hospital by direction of the United States immigration officials whose expenses are not borne by their friends or relations must be returned, as soon as they are able to travel, to the country whence they came, at the expense of the steamship company which brought them here.

"'T. V. POWDERL *Commissioner-General.*

"'Approved.

"'L. J. GAGE, *Secretary.*'"

The persons afflicted with Trachoma were comparatively few, and a doubt existed as to whether it should be classed as a contagious disease. To settle the disputed point the Supervising Surgeon-General of the Marine Hospital Service was appealed to for an opinion; the following is quoted from his answer:

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"I have to refer you to an article on Contagious conjunctivitis, written by Dr. Miles Standish, of Boston, who is considered the very best authority. The article is as follows:

"'After these infections of the conjunctiva, the next most dangerous form of contagious conjunctivitis is the so-called granular lids, or trachoma. If this is of bacterial origin, the micro-organism has not as yet been recognized; nevertheless it will spread slowly through an orphan asylum, tenement house, or any other place where the poor are crowded together, unless special means are taken to prevent this result, leaving its victims handicapped for life and often nearly blind. Fortunately it is diminishing in this country, and is, compared with a few years ago, seldom seen except among recent immigrants from the eastern end of the Mediterranean, Polish and Russian Jews, Armenians, and others from that locality; and I may say in passing that the presence of acute trachoma in the conjunctiva of immigrants should be a good and sufficient reason for turning them back whence they came. A large proportion of these cases within a few months after their arrival become incapacitated and are public charges. And not only this, but were it not for the new cases thus introduced into the great tenement localities of our large cities, *it is my opinion that the disease would soon become extremely rare in* this part of the country.'

"I have to add that I concur in the opinion of Dr. Standish as to the contagiousness of trachoma."

The agents of the steamship lines in Europe and Asia were notified that they should not sell tickets to persons suffering with either Favus or Trachoma, and in a large measure the traffic in diseased immigrants fell off. There were those, however, who paid little heed to the notice, and, trusting to the chance of passing their victims through without question, they continued to book them to points in the United States as before. When a member of an arriving family of aliens was discovered to be afflicted with disease of the scalp or eye and was ordered deported, the friends or relatives of the barred immigrant at once resorted to every means at their command to have the order of deportation set aside and the immigrant landed. Members of Congress, Senators, Cabinet members and the diplomatic representatives of foreign governments were appealed to to use their influence with the Commissioner-General of Immigration and the Secretary of the Treasury to have the diseased person sent to a hospital or landed. The sympathetic heart of the American people was appealed to, and the Bureau of Immigration was severely criticised for its determination to prevent the introduction of alien diseases to this country. Senators and Members of Congress who

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took part in the debates preceding the passage of the law of 1891 and voted for it, besieged the Bureau of Immigration at the request of constituents whose friends or relatives had been ordered deported. Some were in earnest; others, becoming indignant, characterized the action of the immigration authorities as "an outrage"; while a few made a show of sincerity and indignation in presenting their arguments, and wound up by whispering to the Commissioner-General that they "would rather such aliens should be debarred, but there are many of their countrymen in my district, and I must make them believe I am doing my best for their friends."

On several occasions those who came to plead the cause of aliens, barred because they were suffering from Favus or Trachoma, asserted that the disease had been contracted in the steerage, during the voyage from the old country. They claimed that because no evidence of disease was discovered on the other side, before the immigrant sailed, it must have been communicated to the sufferer on the way over, and for that reason the person so afflicted should be landed. The one particular reason which determined the Commissioner-General of Immigration to prevent the landing, for any length of time or for any purpose whatever, of persons who had Favus or Trachoma was the importance of preventing the introduction of the germs, seeds or whatever else they may be called, of these diseases to the steerage of the immigrant ship. No other place under the sky is so well calculated to serve as a propagating bed for disease as the place where hundreds, and thousands, are crowded together for six or seven days, in an atmosphere that at best is unwholesome, while subsisting on food that contains no more nutrition than the law actually requires. Keep the disease out of the steerage, and it will not come out of the steerage to plague the children of America. Vice may come in the cabin or the steerage, in rags or fine raiment, and escape detection, but the diseases under discussion proclaim their presence and are their own detectors. That aliens who bring these diseases are for the greater part children does not lessen the gravity of the situation; on the contrary, it adds to it; for they go at once where large numbers of American children congregate, to the public schools and the crowded streets, to the tenement houses and attics of our large cities. That death does not follow contact with either disease is no reason why we should invite it

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to our shores. Statistics are not necessary to prove that disease is always dangerous; figures are not required to demonstrate that it should be avoided or warded off. No man would invite a person afflicted with a contagious disease beneath his roof, to mingle with the members of his own family. Rather would he shield his family from contact with disease; and as the nation is but a larger family every citizen should do his part, use his influence, to safeguard the homes of the poor of the United States against disease from abroad. If in future we should have occasion to trace the cause why our people are hairless and sightless through Favus and Trachoma, we should have ourselves to blame, for with proper precaution they may be warded off. One may complacently settle himself down in his comfortable chair, in his own home, and say: "It is no affair of mine if these children are afflicted, they do not associate with me, or mine." It is his affair and if he is conscious of the fact that disease is spreading in the community, it is a crime against society for him to remain silent and inactive. The men who, in the past, made the world better were obliged to disagree with others and with the world as they found it. It is not by tolerating evil, and submitting to those who advocate its continuance, that evil is checked. If we remain indifferent simply because these diseases do not prove fatal to life, we evade our duty; for the health of the nation is imperilled while one man is diseased. The old cry, "America is the asylum of the oppressed of the world," is too threadbare to withstand the assaults of disease. There is a danger that the oppressed may, through the burdens they fasten on others, become oppressors. At any rate, there exists no reason why the United States should become the hospital of the nations of earth, even though it does afford an asylum for those who come here to escape oppression.

Could the buried ruins of dead empires speak, they would no doubt tell that ignorance of the laws of health, indifference to the spread of disease, assailed their roots and hastened their decay.

The oldest hour this world has ever known is passing while these words are being read; and, if experience counts for anything, this should be the wisest hour of all time. If we would profit by that past, by the experience of other nations, then every advance of loathsome, dangerous or contagious disease should be challenged at sea coast and border line, and denied admission to the United States.

T. V. POWDERLY.

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MR. ANDREW CARNEGIE'S NEW BOOK.

BY M. W. HAZELTINE.

THERE are several reasons why the essays published under the collective title of "The Empire of Business" are likely to be read attentively. In the first place, the subjects discussed are interesting in themselves, and they are treated in a bright and suggestive way. In the second place, the author's personality is so honorably conspicuous on both sides of the Atlantic that his opinions upon any theme are listened to with respect, which, of course, is much augmented when they are manifestly based on his own experience. When Mr. Carnegie, for instance, tells young men how to grow rich, his title to speak as an expert is universally recognized. He is known to have acquired a fortune which, with one exception, is the largest ever accumulated by a human being in the course of a lifetime. Such epithets as "royal" and "imperial" are but inadequate definers of an opulence to which the history of mankind presents but a single parallel. It is instinctively felt by the community at large that the author of such an achievement may be trusted to indicate the traits of character and the rules of conduct which conduce to the attainment of wealth. No less reasonable is the current assumption that a man who has weathered industrial crises and solved the problems of high finance must have a more thorough comprehension of the laws of political economy than is possessed by college professors, whose speculations are unrestrained by personal or corporate responsibility. Believing, then, that the curiosity excited by Mr. Carnegie's book is entirely legitimate, we purpose to outline some of the conclusions which an exceptionally active and preëminently fruitful life has led him to form, not only concerning matters of perennial importance, but also touching certain questions which come home to us at the present time with peculiar force.

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I.

What is meant by "The Empire of Business"? As Mr. Carnegie uses it, the term "business men" excludes, not only members of the professions, but also those engaged in mercantile or manufacturing pursuits or in banking, whose services are rewarded by salaries instead of by a share of the gain resulting from the enterprises in which they are embarked. Is a railway president receiving a salary, or the president of a bank, or a salaried officer of any kind, in business? Our author replies that, strictly speaking, he is not; for, "to be in business, a man must be at least part-owner of the enterprise to which he gives his attention, and chiefly dependent for his revenues, not upon a salary, but upon its profits." Obviously, this definition of business rules out the whole of the salaried class.

"None of these men is now in business, but many of them have been, and most successful therein. The business man, pure and simple, plunges into and tosses upon the waves of human affairs without a life-preserver in the shape of salary; he risks all."

Inasmuch, however, as the qualities essential to success in the professions are in the main the same which insure success in business, much of what Mr. Carnegie says regarding the traits and habits conducive to the attainment of the latter object will be found applicable in a wider field.

What especially strikes us in the practical suggestions which are the fruits of the author's experience, is the fact that they are seldom commonplace, and often run counter to current maxims. For example, Mr. Carnegie is no temperance lecturer in disguise, although his observation has taught him that men are more likely to fail in their careers from acquiring the habit of drinking spirits than from any and all the other temptations likely to assail them. What he says to young men on this point is:

"You must not drink liquor to excess. Better if you do not touch it at all—much better; but, if this be too hard a rule for you, then take your stand firmly here: resolve never to touch it except at meals."

In our author's opinion, next to drinking, the greatest danger to which a young man is exposed in the American community is speculation. His objections to speculation on the Stock Exchange are three, and every one of them is sound. In the first place, you

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cannot win. Mr. Carnegie advises the young man who is disposed to risk his small savings in speculation to go to

"a regular and well-conducted gambling house, where they cheat fair. You can get fair play and about an equal chance upon the red and black in such a place; upon the Exchange you have neither."

In the second place, the habit of speculation disqualifies the mind for sober, unremitting work in business channels.

"The man who grasps a morning paper to see first how his speculative ventures upon the Exchanges are likely to result unfits himself for the calm consideration and proper solution of the business problems with which he has to deal later in the day, and saps the sources of the persistent and concentrated energy upon which depend the permanent success, and often the very safety, of his main business."

In the third place, nothing is more indispensable to young business men than untarnished credit.

"Nothing kills credit sooner in any bank board than the knowledge that either firms or men are engaged in speculation. It matters not a whit whether gains or losses be the temporary result of speculative operations. The moment a man is known to speculate, his credit is impaired, and soon thereafter it is gone."

With reference to a fourth source of danger—the habit of endorsing—our author does not lay down the rule "never endorse," but undertakes to draw the line at which regard for the safety or success of friends should cease, and regard for one's own honor should begin. After some discussion, the line is drawn as follows:

"Before you endorse at all, consider endorsements as gifts, and ask yourself whether you wish to make a gift to your friend, and whether the money is really yours to give, and not a trust for your creditors?"

After all dangers are avoided, however, it does not follow that a young man will obtain a larger measure of success than is implied in the permanent reception of a salary. How is one to rise beyond a salaried position? Mr. Carnegie tells us that the secret of rising lies in the habit of continually putting to oneself the question, not "What *must* I do for my employer?" but, "What *can* I do?" The faithful and conscientious discharge of the duties assigned one is, of course, exemplary; but the verdict in such cases generally is that your present duties are so well per-

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formed that you had better continue performing them. "We make clerks, book-keepers, treasurers, bank-tellers, of this class, and there they remain to the end of the chapter." The man who is destined to rise must attract attention by doing something *beyond* the range of his special department, and *outside* the scope of his duties. Mr. Carnegie rejects as misleading the axiom "Obey orders if you break owners." On the contrary, he says that one should always break orders to save owners.

"You will never be a partner unless you know the business of your department far better than the owners possibly can."

As to the habit of saving, Mr. Carnegie explains why so much stress is laid upon it. It is not that the amount saved by a young man is of much importance considered as an investment, even at compound interest. It is because capitalists are disposed to trust the saving young man, whose income always exceeds his expenditures.

"For every hundred dollars you can produce as the result of hard-won savings, Midas in search of a partner will lend or credit a thousand; for every thousand, fifty thousand. It is not capital that your seniors require; it is the man who has proved that he has the business habits which create capital."

Still another current maxim is rejected by our author. We refer to the injunction "Don't put all your eggs in one basket." Mr. Carnegie says, on the contrary, that we should "put all our eggs in one basket, and then watch that basket." His observation has taught him that men who do this do not often fail.

"It is easy to watch and carry one basket. It is the trying to carry too many baskets that breaks most eggs in this country. He who carries three baskets must put one on his head, and this one is apt to tumble off and trip him up. One fault of the American business man is lack of concentration."

It is one of our author's most firmly-rooted convictions that in the race for wealth those start with great advantages who are born poor, and who have not spent some of the most important years of their lives in acquiring a college education. A basketful of inherited bonds, he says, is the heaviest load a young man

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has to carry. He generally staggers under it. It is not from the sons of rich men that rivalry need be feared.

"Look out for the boy who has to plunge into work direct from the common school, and who begins by sweeping out the office. He is the probable dark horse that you had better watch."

After noting the absence of college graduates in a long list of bank presidents, Mr. Carnegie says that he has inquired and searched in all quarters, but can find small trace of him among the leaders in affairs. How is the fact accounted for?

"The prize-takers have too many years the start of the graduate; they have entered for the race invariably in their teens—in the most valuable of all the years for learning—from fourteen to twenty; while the college student has been learning a little about the barbarous and petty squabbles of a far-distant past, or trying to master languages which are dead, such knowledge as seems adapted for life upon another planet than this, as far as business affairs are concerned, the future captain of industry is hotly engaged in the school of experience, obtaining the very knowledge required for his future triumphs."

These convictions have not prevented the man who expresses them from creating a fund of ten million dollars, the income of which is to be used for assisting young Scotchmen to attend the universities of their native land. There is less inconsistency in this act of imperial munificence than may at the first glance appear. It is evident to the reader of this book that the author would advise the young men who avail themselves of his aid to spend three or four years at Edinburgh or Glasgow, at Aberdeen or St. Andrews, to apply themselves to the study, not of the Greek and Latin classics, but of electrical or civil engineering, or of chemistry, or, in other words, to the scientific or polytechnic side of a university curriculum. Mr. Carnegie foresees that:

"The trained mechanic of the past who has hitherto carried off most of the honors in our industrial establishments is now to meet a rival in the scientifically educated youth who will push him hard—very hard, indeed."

He names three of the largest steel-manufacturing concerns in the world, which at the time when he wrote were under the management of three young educated men, students of scientific or polytechnic institutions, who left theory at school, however, for practice in the works while they were yet in their teens.

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II.

Inasmuch as a large part of Mr. Carnegie's colossal wealth is supposed to have been derived from an application of the principle of combination on a scale hitherto unprecedented, one naturally turns with curiosity to an essay in which he discusses the functions and the limitations of "trusts." If he were called as a witness on behalf of such instrumentalities for the concentration of capital and enterprise, his testimony might be exposed to the objection that it is not unbiassed, inasmuch as he is credited with holding the first-mortgage bonds of the United States Steel Corporation to the extent of some three hundred million dollars. As a matter of fact, his evidence is competent, because it does not matter to him whether the United States Steel Corporation is permanently successful or collapses. In any event, the assets of the company would suffice to pay its first-mortgage bonds. As a matter of fact, Mr. Carnegie's testimony, if closely scrutinized, seems favorable to a belief in the permanent success of the corporation mentioned, so long as it is managed on the cautious and conservative principles to which it has thus far adhered.

The danger is, according to our author, that a trust will be tempted to extort from consumers a larger return upon its capital than is yielded by the majority of other investments. If it succumb to the temptation, it will be unable to escape the penalty. Mr. Carnegie's assertion is that, "given freedom of competition, all combinations or trusts that attempt to exact from the consumer more than a legitimate return upon capital and services" are doomed to eventual failure. By "legitimate" is meant a return that does not materially exceed that derivable from capital invested in other lines of business. If, for example, at any particular period the demand for the products of a given industry greatly exceeds the supply, the manufacturers may yield to the temptation so to increase the prices of their output as to gain from it a profit out of all proportion to that obtainable by the producers of other commodities. The more successful a trust may be temporarily in thus profiting by the temporary excess of demand over supply, the more certain is competition to spring up. From this point of view, every victory portends eventual defeat. Mr. Carnegie reminds us that on one occasion

"the sugar refiners tried to get more from capital in their special field than capital yields in general. They endeavored to raise a part of the

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ocean of capital above the level of the surrounding waters, but the result was that over their bulwarks the flood burst, and capital like water again found its level."

It is true that:

"to regain this level, a longer or a shorter period may be required, during which the commodity affected may be sold to the consumer in limited quantities at a higher rate than before existed. But for this the consumer is amply recompensed in the years that follow, during which the struggle between competitive factories becomes severer than it ever was before, and lasts till the great law of the survival of the fittest vindicates itself."

Of course, all corporations depend for their assurance of prosperity upon the foresight and sagacity of the men that manage them, and one of the proofs of sagacity is the refusal to run counter to economical laws.

Does not the case of the Standard Oil Company demonstrate that competition may be permanently avoided, and a monopoly of a given commodity acquired, so far, at least, as a large part of the earth's surface is concerned? Mr. Carnegie replies that the Standard Oil Company would long ago have gone to pieces had it not been managed in harmony with the laws which control business. He points out that the cost of oil to the consumer is no less low to-day, and many think that it is lower, than it would have been, had the business of extracting and refining petroleum not been concentrated and managed as one vast concern. Notwithstanding, however, the exceptional ability with which this corporation has been managed, our author holds that the chances are in favor of its losing ultimately its practical monopoly and meeting the fate of all previous experiments in the way of huge combinations.

"It is a hundred to one whether it will survive when the present men at the head retire, or, perhaps, I should say, when the present *man* retires, for wonderful organizations imply a veritable genius at the helm."

The commander-in-chief, no doubt, must have able corps commanders under him, but a Napoleon is needed at the head.

"To those who quote the Standard Oil Company as an evidence that trusts or combinations can be permanently successful, I say, 'Wait and see.'"

It is, in fine, our author's belief that the people of the United

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States can afford to smile at the efforts of their manufacturers and railway magnates to evade fundamental economic laws by trusts, or combinations, or pools, or "differentials," or anything of the kind. He says:

"Only let the people hold firmly to the doctrine of free competition. Keep the field open. Freedom for all to engage in railroad building when and where capital desires, subject to conditions open to all! Freedom for all to engage in any branch of manufacturing under like conditions."

Here, then, is a manufacturer who, with one exception—Mr. John D. Rockefeller—has reaped a larger profit than any man living from the application of the principle of concentration to a particular industry, yet who solemnly assures us that:

"there can be no permanent extortion of profit beyond the average return from capital, nor any monopoly, either in transportation or manufactures. Any attempt to maintain either must end in failure, and failure ultimately disastrous just in proportion to the temporary success of the foolish effort. It is simply ridiculous for a party of men to meet in a room and attempt by passing resolutions to change the great laws which govern human affairs in the business world, and this, whether they be railway presidents, bankers, or manufacturers."

But, it may be asked, has Mr. Carnegie lived up to his assertion that "the only people who have reason to fear trusts are those foolish enough to enter into them"? Do his acts attest belief in his own words? Has he not shown confidence in trusts generally by placing his own factories at the disposal of the United States Steel Corporation? We answer, Not at all. He has by no means renounced his distrust of trusts in general. He has simply given proof of confidence in the individual men who manage a given combination. He has faith in their recognition of the inexorable laws of political economy. He believes that in exchanging his factories for the bonds of the United States Steel Corporation he has taken no speculative risk. It is this belief that causes him to say that he has "retired from business and reformed."

III.

It would be a mistake to imagine that the whole of Mr. Carnegie's book is concerned with the means of amassing wealth and with the economic laws governing its distribution. Some of his most memorable pages are devoted to the large and fructify-

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ing uses to which opulence may be put. Here, again, the author speaks as an expert, in a sense which is unique. Already the magnitude of his contributions for philanthropic purposes dwarfs the work performed by any other public benefactor known to history. From some of the essays printed in this volume, which were penned long ago, it is evident that the dedication of his vast accumulations to beneficent objects has been the long-cherished and unswerving aim of his life. In a lecture delivered a good many years since, he expressed the conviction that wealth should be regarded as a sacred trust, to be administered, not by executors and trustees, but during the lifetime of its possessor, for the highest good of the people. He then made the assertion, which he has often since repeated, that:

"The day is coming, and already we see its dawn, in which the man who dies possessed of millions of available wealth which was free and in his hands ready to be distributed, will die disgraced."

He went on to say that:

"By administering surplus wealth during one's own lifetime great wealth may be made a blessing to the community, and the occupation of the business man accumulating wealth may be elevated so as to rank with any profession."

If any human being has lived up to this conception of the right uses of wealth, it is the author of this volume. As regards the scope and aggregate value of his benefactions, the names of Girard, of Nobel and of Hirsch are already eclipsed by his. According to an authoritative list recently published in Pennsylvania, his donations to public ends—no account is made of his private charities—amount collectively to nearly seventy million dollars, distributed between the United States, Scotland, Canada, England, Cuba, and Ireland, these countries being designated in the order of the extent to which they have been beneficiaries. There is no reason to suppose that Mr. Carnegie's consecration of an imperial fortune to the public good will cease, so long as his life shall last. The unparalleled magnitude of his pecuniary contributions to the welfare of his fellow-men is not more impressive than the foresight that has led him to couple his gifts with wise conditions, by which the danger of pauperizing communities and individuals is avoided.

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Unquestionably, the determination to head the roll of the world's philanthropists was prompted by a love of fame. He is an illustrious victim of "that last infirmity of noble minds." He would doubtless himself acknowledge that, "if it be a sin to covet honor, he is the most offending soul alive." Among the lovers of mankind his preëminence is undisputed. We add that, by the method no less than by the volume of his giving, he has earned the only reward that he desires. As Mr. Carnegie has divined, there is more than one way to foil oblivion. He has built himself a monument, broad-based, sky-pointed, like the pyramids. For the thousands and the tens of thousands who will profit by his beneficence, year after year and century after century, it will be at once a duty and a joy to perpetuate his memory. Gratitude will speak in benediction. Seldom is it given to a sovereign to leave a deep mark upon history. Presidents die and are forgotten; but, when it shall prove as hard to recall them as it now is to recite the list of the Popes, the name of Carnegie will be still remembered.

M. W. HAZELTINE.

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THE ECONOMIC DEPENDENCE OF WOMEN.

BY VERNON LEE.

I.

In recommending Mrs. Stetson's "Women and Economics," through the help of this Review, to my Anglo-Saxon readers, I am accomplishing the duty of a convert. I believe that "Women and Economics" ought to open the eyes and, I think, also the hearts, of other readers, because it has opened my own to the real importance of what is known as the Woman Question.

I must begin by confessing that the question which goes by that name had never attracted my attention, or, rather, that I had on every occasion evaded and avoided it. Not in the least, however, on account of any ridicule which may attach to it. There is, thank goodness, a spice of absurdity in every one, and in every thing, we care for in this world; and the dear little old lady in Henry James's "Bostonians," who pathetically exclaims: "And would you condemn us to remain mere lovely baubles?" is the very creature to endear a *cause;* she is the Brother Juniper, so to speak, of the Woman Question.

My vague avoidance of the movement was not even due to the perception of some of the less enjoyable peculiarities of its devotees. For a very small knowledge of mankind, and a very slight degree of historical culture, suffice to teach one that it is not the well-balanced, the lucid, the sympathizingly indulgent or the especially gracious and graceful among human beings who are employed by Providence for the attack and possible destruction of long-organized social evils; nay, that the martyrdom in behalf of any new cause begins, one may say, by the constitution of the individual as an inevitable eccentric, unconscious of the diffidence, the scepticism, the sympathy, the sense of fitness and measure which check, divert, or hamper normal human beings.

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The early saints, judging by St. Augustine's "Confessions" and the "*Legenda Aurea*," must have been appalling prigs, indifferent to family affections, higher literature, hygiene, and rational cookery; while the Hebrew Prophets were quite devoid of their historian's—M. Renan's—intelligent indulgence for the administrative passion of, say, Nebuchadnezzar, or the touching pleasure in *toilettes* of Queen Jezebel. And, as to Socialists, who may be considered as the modern representatives of such virtuous tactlessness, we have all seen something of them, and of their well-meant efforts to clash with our habits of dress and manners, and to ruffle our feelings on trifling occasions. So that it does not require the generalizing genius of Dr. Nordau, clapping Tolstoy and Ibsen into his specimen-box of "Degenerates," to tell us that the Woman Question, Femininism, is likely to be taken up by those disconnected and disjointed personalities who are attracted by every other kind of thing in *ism;* whose power consists a little in their very inferiority; and whose abnormal and often morbid "pleasure in saying 'no'" (as Nietzsche puts it) is, after all, alas! alas! so very necessary in this world of quite normally stupid and normally selfish and normally virtuous "pleasure in saying 'yes.'"

All these things I knew, of course, and I do not really think it was any of them which made me thus indifferent, and perhaps even a little hostile, towards that Woman Question. Indeed, when I seek in the depths of my consciousness, I think the real mischief lay in that word "Woman." For, while that movement was, of course, intended to break down the legal, professional, educational, and social barriers which still exist between the sexes, yet, owing to the fact of its necessarily pitting one of these sexes against the other; owing to the inevitable insistence on what *can,* or *cannot,* or *must,* or *must not,* be done, said, or thought by women and not men—women—women—women—always women! there naturally arose a certain feeling, pervading, overpowering, intolerable—like that one suffers from in visiting a harem or a convent—the fact of sex, exclusive, aggressive, immodestly out of place, perpetually obtruded on one's consciousness; while the other fact, the universal, chaste, spiritual fact of *humanness,* of *Homo* as distinguished from mere *Vir* and *Femina,* was lost sight of. And somehow—if one is worth one's salt, if one feels normal kinship not only with the talking and

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(occasionally) thinking creature around one, but also with animals, plants, earth, skies, waters, and all things past and present; if one be able, as every decent specimen of genus *Homo* must, to join in Francis of Assisi's "*Laudes omnium creaturarum*"—why, then, one feels a little bored, a little outraged, nay, even sickened, by this everlasting question of sex qualifications and sex disqualifications; and (very unjustly, but perhaps therefore very naturally) one gets to shrink from that particular question exactly because it *is* the *Woman* Question.

Very unjustly. Let me repeat that; and remind the reader that what I am describing is my still unregenerate state.

II.

I was converted by Mrs. Stetson's unpretending little book, because in it the rights and wrongs of *Femina, das Weib,* were not merely opposed to the rights and wrongs of *Vir, der Mann,* but subordinated to those of what is, after all, a bigger item of creation: *Homo, der Mensch.*

There was nothing new in connecting the Woman Question with Economics. If I may judge by myself, the majority of people who know anything of Political Economy must be accustomed to regard such questions as marriage, divorce, prostitution, the legal position of mothers and fathers, and many of the peculiarities of law and custom with respect to the sexes, as hinging upon the facts of wealth production and distribution, tenure of soil, heredity and division of property; upon the whole immense question of the individual's share in the products of nature, of invention and of industry. Indeed, I much suspect that, as in my case, many thinking persons shelve the question of women's abilities and disabilities exactly because it seems to depend almost completely upon the far more important question of the redistribution of wealth; to represent a minor act of social justice and social practicality (bringing much waste energy under cultivation) inevitably involved in the greater act of social justice and social practicality which, through revolution or evolution, must needs take place some day or other.

The originality, the scientific soundness and moral efficacy of "Women and Economics," appear to me to lie in its partially reversing this fact; and in its substituting a moral and psychological reason for the rather miraculous mechanicalness which

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mars every form of the "historical materialism" of the Marxian school. In other words, this book shows that the present condition of women—their state of dependence, tutelage, and semi-idleness; their sequestration from the discipline of competition and social selection, in fact their economic parasitism—is in itself a most important factor in the wrongness of all our economic arrangements.

This main thesis of the book can be summed up as follows:

In consequence of the immense benefit which a prolonged stage of infancy, that is to say of intellectual and moral plasticity, obtained for the human race, all other advantages tended, during the beginnings of civilization, and have tended ever since, to be sacrificed to the rearing of children; and, first and foremost, there has been sacrificed to it that equality in the power of obtaining sustenance, and that consequent mutual independence in such matters, which we find existing between the male and female half of almost every other race of animal. The human race has obtained much of its superiority through the partial replacing of instinct by individual experiment and conscious tradition; but this has meant that the human infant has been born into the world far less mature, far less typically developed, and far less near to independence than the young sheep which can walk within half an hour of its birth, let alone of the chick which can find the right seed almost as soon as it has broken out of the shell. In proportion as the human adult has become rich in original powers, has the human infant required a longer and longer period of tutelage; with the result of requiring of the human mother a longer and longer devotion of her strength, her mind, and, even more, of her time, to the rearing of her offspring. The difference between the female of genus *homo* and the female of other genera has therefore originated not in a longer period of gestation (for that of the horse, for instance, is nearly one-third longer), but in a longer period of education of her offspring. The different position of the female whom we call *Woman* is not due to a difference in psychological, but in sociological functions.

For the longer duration of human infancy, and, even more, the greater helplessness, the greater educability of the human infant, have made it difficult, and in some cases impossible, for the human mother to find food for herself, let alone food for her

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growing and already weaned child. Hence, the continuance of the human race has called forth a personage who (save among birds, so oddly like human beings in many things) can scarcely be said to exist among animals: the Father—the Father, as distinguished from the mere begetter; the pseudo-father in many stages of primitive life (without ironical references to later stages of existence!), the uncle, the maternal male relative, the head of the tribe, the patriarch: the man who provides food for the child, and food for the woman who rears it; the man who procures, by industry, or violence, a home (cave, cabin, tent, or house) in which the woman remains with the children, while he himself goes forth to hunt, to tend flocks, to make captives, to till the ground, to buy and sell; and in modern times to do those hundred curious things which, producing no tangible product, come under the heading of "making money."

This all seems very simple; but the consequences are complex. The female *homo,* thus left to rear the children (and do what else she can), becomes, what the female of other animals is not, or only (in birds and certain lower creatures) for a very short time, the *dependent* of the male *homo.* The home which she inhabits is *his* home, the food she eats is *his* food, the children she rears become, whether father or only patriarch, *his* children; and, by a natural evolution, she herself, the woman thus dependent upon his activity and thus appropriated to his children's service, becomes part and parcel of the home, of the goods, of the children; becomes appropriated to the nursing, the cooking, the clothing, the keeping in repair; becomes, thus amalgamated with the man's property, a piece of property herself, body and soul, a slave (often originally a captive, stolen or bought), and what every slave naturally is, a chattel. By this process, therefore, we have obtained a primitive human group, differing most essentially from the group composed by the male and female of other genera: the man and the woman, *vir ac femina,* do not stand opposite one another, he a little taller, she a little rounder, like Adam and Eve on the panels of Memling or Kranach; but in a quite asymmetrical position: a big man, as in certain archaic statues, holding in his hand a little woman; a god (if we are poetical, or if we face the advantages of the case) protecting a human creature; or (if we are cynical, and look to the disadvantages) a human being playing with a doll.

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III.

In his remarkable book, "*Division du Travail Social*," M. Emile Durkheim writes as follows:

"The female of those remotest ages was by no means the feeble being that she has gradually become as a result of increasing morality. Prehistoric bones make it quite plain to us that, in those earliest times, there was much less difference of strength than we find nowadays between the two sexes. And even now, we find that during childhood the skeletons of the male and female present but little difference; the characteristic being, on the whole, rather feminine. If, therefore, we admit that the growth of the individual reproduces, so to speak, on a small scale, the development of the species, then we may fairly conjecture that the same similarity between the sexes existed at the beginning of human evolution, and we may regard the feminine form as an approximation to that original single type of humanity, from which the masculine variety has gradually become differentiated.

"As regards the highest organ of physical and psychical life, it has been shown by Dr. Lebon, with mathematical precision, that the brain of both sexes must have originally presented just such a degree of similarity. The comparison of a large number of skulls, selected among the most different races and civilizations, has led him to the following conclusion: that, if we compare individuals of the same age, the same stature and weight, the brain of the male will be found to be considerably bulkier than that of the female; and that this inequality increases regularly with the increase of civilization; in such a way that the brain and, therefore, the mind of the woman is constantly tending to differ, to her disadvantage, from the brain and the mind of the man. For instance, the difference found to exist between the average skulls of modern Parisians of the two sexes is almost double the difference which exists between the male and female skulls of the ancient Egyptians. A German anthropologist, Bischoff, has come to the same conclusions on this subject as Dr. Lebon. This anatomical resemblance is accompanied by similarity of function. For, in those early civilizations, the feminine functions are not sharply marked off from the masculine ones; on the contrary, the two sexes lead very much the same life. There are even nowadays a considerable number of savage races where the woman takes her share in political life. This has been remarked more especially among the American Indians, like the Iroquois and Natchez; also at Hawaii, where the female shares the life of the men in a hundred ways; also in New Zealand and Samoa. Similarly, it is not rare to find the women accompanying their men on warlike expeditions, urging them on in the fray and even taking an active part in it. In Cuba and in Dahomey also they are as warlike as the men, and fight by their side. . . . Now, it is to be observed that, among all these peoples, the institution of marriage is extremely rudimentary. . . . We are acquainted with a type of family, comparatively near us in time, and which possesses only a germ, so to speak, of marriage: we allude to the *maternal family* . . . In this,

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marriage, or what goes by the name of marriage, consists in but few obligations, frequently limited also in duration, which bind the husband to the wife's relations. . . . Whereas, the further we advance, and the nearer we draw to modern times, the more also do we see marriage take on in complexity. . . . And it is certain that, at the same time,we find a greater and greater division of labor as between the two sexes. . . . For ages past woman has withdrawn from warfare and public business and concentrated all her activities within the limits of the individual family. And the part which she plays has become only more and more specialized; so that nowadays, and among civilized nations, the female leads a life absolutely different from that of the male. It is as if the two great halves of the soul's life had become severed, and as if one of the two sexes had appropriated the emotional functions and the other the functions of the intellect."

I am very glad to have been able to give the readers of this REVIEW, instead of a *précis* of parts of "Women and Economics," the above quotation on the subject of that equality of faculties and community of functions which may (or may not) have originally existed between the two halves of genus *homo,* and upon that subsequent differentiation which resulted in what M. Durkheim has aptly and joyfully defined as a "stationary or even retrograde tendency in the female skull. For, to such readers as have reason (perhaps owing to their superior knowledge) for giving much weight to similar statements about prehistoric civilizations; and to such readers also as feel that the fact of having possessed any particular desideratum in the past constitutes a better claim to its possession in the future; to both these classes of readers, it must be much more satisfactory to be assured of the original and primeval importance of womankind by M. Durkheim, who jubilates at the "*stationnement et régression des crânes féminins*" as a splendid argument in favor of thorough-going division of labor, than to take it on the authority of Mrs. Stetson herself, who may be suspected of partiality for hypotheses redounding to the glory of our earliest mothers.

I am also glad to have devolved, so to speak, the *onus probandi* of the original equality of male and female skulls, of the primitive similarity of habits, functions, and powers of the two sexes, and particularly the responsibility for that uncertain spectre, the "Matriarch," on to an adversary of female emancipation; because I suspect that, in the undeveloped state of anthropology and prehistoric sociology, the alleged facts and cherished hypotheses of one day are sure to be upset the next. And also

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because I have a very strong feeling that the desirability of any particular thing in the future has nothing to do with its existence or non-existence in the past; and that the question of the position of women, say, in the year 2000 A.D., will depend not upon the position of women in the year—well, the year 20,000 before the Deluge—but upon the condition of the world at large, the intellectual, moral, particularly the economical state of men and women, in our own times.

IV.

Now the really fine piece of work which Mrs. Stetson has done, has been to demonstrate—to me at least—that, although the exclusion of womankind from the world's active work, and her subordination to man, have been a sociological necessity—the price paid for the lengthened infancy, the increased educability of man, and also for that solid familial organization which alone permitted an accumulation and multiplication of human inventions and traditions; that, although the *regression,* or, at all events, the stagnation of one half of the human race has been inevitable and beneficial in the past, it has ceased to be beneficial, and is ceasing to be inevitable, in the present. A particular automatic arrangement of historical evolution has done its work; like slavery, like servage, like feudalism, like centralization (according to individualists), like competition (according to socialists), it has grown to be an impediment to progress. For the prolonged infancy and youth of genus *homo* can now no longer be endangered; and a large proportion of human education has, since thousands of years, passed from the care of the mother to that of the community as a whole, or of portions—guilds, priesthoods, universities, and so forth—of the community; while, on the other hand, the inventions and traditions have been stored, multiplied, and diffused far beyond the powers of family education. The benefit has long, long ago been obtained beyond all possibility of loss; but the price is still being paid for it.

Now, what is that price? The stagnation or regression, answers M. Durkheim, of the female mind. The removal, answers Mrs. Stetson, enlarging the same thought with a different intention, the removal of womankind from the field of action and reaction called "the universe at large" to the field of action and reaction called "the family circle": the substitution, as a factor of adap-

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tation and selection, of the preference of the husband or possible husband for the preferences, so to speak, of the whole of creation. In other words, the sequestration of the capacities of one half of the human race, and their enclosure inside the habits and powers of the other half of the human race. Briefly, a condition in which the man plays the part of the animal who moves and feeds freely on the earth's surface; and the woman the part of the parasitic creature who lives inside that animal's tissues. The comparison is exact; but we ought not to push the analogy to the point of considering the parasitism of womankind as the parasitism of a destructive microbe. The mischief lies not in the fact of parasitism, but in the fact that this parasitic life has developed in the parasite one set of faculties and atrophied another; atrophied the faculties which the woman had (or might have had, even if in lesser degree) in common with the man, and developed those which were due to the fact of her being a woman.

We have come to a point where a clear understanding is very necessary. Even admitting that chastity, devotion to offspring, tenderness, and that peculiar negative quality (called after the domesticated animal) *mansuetude,* let alone certain æsthetic graces which the ancients by no means discovered in womankind, have come to exist in the female as the result of her dependent position, [a theory which is seriously damaged by the coyness in courtship and the maternal passion observable already in animals where the female is not dependent], we must be careful to add this gain to the other advantages, and main advantages, of "feminine stagnation or regression," namely, the prolongation of childhood and the establishment of the family group. And we must not gratuitously argue that these virtues will disappear if the position of women is changed; since, whatever their origin, they have become so far common to both sexes that Christianity and Buddhism have for centuries been taking for granted that chastity, mansuetude, and tenderness are the most essential virtues of mankind at large, the "one thing needful."

But the question arises, What price has been paid for all these advantages?

The first answer which arises in the mind is naturally a direct one: the work which womankind might have accomplished during those hundreds and hundreds of years if she had not had a man to work for her; the work which might have been given by two

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halves of the human race, instead of being given by one only. But here again we have need for a *distinguo,* though not a casuistic one. The woman did do work throughout that time. Not merely the essential work, direct and indirect, of rearing a new generation and, in a measure, keeping up the acquired standard of civilization; but also the work, less essential indeed to the race, which enabled the man not merely to seek for food away from the home, but also to be as idle as he required (or at least as he liked) while in it. The woman, save among the exceptionally wealthy, has always been a chief domestic servant; and even nowadays she is so, to a greater or lesser extent. The woman, therefore, has worked; but—and here comes the subtle distinction on which the whole economic and sociological part of the subject reposes—she has worked not for the consumption of the world at large, and subject to the world's selection of good or bad, useful or useless, work; but for the consumption of one man and subject to that one man's preferences. The woman has worked without thereby developing those qualities which competition has developed among male workers. She has not become as efficient a human being as her brothers; whatever her individual inherited aptitudes (and, as Mrs. Stetson aptly reminds us, women are, after all, the children of men as well as of women, and must, therefore, inherit some of their father's natural powers), she has not been allowed to develop them in the struggle for life; but has been condemned, on the contrary, to atrophy them in forms of labor which can require only the most common gifts, since they are required equally of every woman in every family.

But this is by no means the whole of the price which the human race has had to pay for the needful "division of labor" between its two halves. Negatively, the position of women has prevented their developing certain of their possibilities; positively, it has forced them to develop certain other of their possibilities; it has atrophied the merely human faculties, which they possess rudimentarily in common with men; it has, on the other hand, hypertrophied the peculiarity which distinguished them from man; hypertrophied their sex.

There is one particular sentence in "Women and Economics" which converted me to the cause of female emancipation: "Women are over-sexed."

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V.

Women over-sexed! *Over-sexed!* There seems something odious and almost intolerable in that word. In the fact also—but odious and intolerable in a manner more subtle and more serious than mere scandalized modesty can ever understand. Let me try to explain the extreme importance of Mrs. Stetson's thought. *Over-sexed* does not mean over-much addicted to sexual indulgence; very far from it, for that is the case not with women, but with men, of whom we do not say that they are *over-sexed.* What we mean by *over-sexed* is that, while men are a great many things besides being males—soldiers and sailors, tinkers and tailors, and all the rest of the nursery rhyme—women are, first and foremost, *females,* and then again females, and then—still more females. It is a case for paraphrasing Danton; only that, alas! there is a considerable difference between "*de l'audace, de l'audace et encore de l'audace*" and "*de la femme, de la femme, et encore de la femme,*" which sums up the outspoken views of the Latin races, and the practice, alas! of the less outspoken but more practical Teutonic ones. And here we touch the full mischief. That women are *over-sexed* means that, instead of depending upon their intelligence, their strength, endurance, and honesty, they depend mainly upon their sex; that they appeal to men, dominate men through the fact of their sex; that (if the foregoing seems an exaggeration) they are economically supported by men because they are wanted as wives and mothers of children—that is to say, wanted for their sex. And it means, therefore, by a fearful irony, that the half of humanity which is constitutionally (and by the bare facts of motherhood) more chaste, has unconsciously and inevitably acquired its power, secured its livelihood, by making the other half of humanity less chaste, by appealing through every means, material, æsthetic and imaginative, sensual or sentimental, to those already excessive impulses and thoughts of sex. The woman has appealed to the man, not as other men appeal to him, as a comrade, a competitor, a fellow-citizen, or an open enemy of different nationality, creed, or class; but as a possible wife, as a female. This has been a cause of weakness and degradation to the man; a "fall," like that of Adam; and, in those countries where literature is thoroughly outspoken, man, like Adam, has thrown the blame on Eve, as the instrument of the Devil.

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This is, of course, particularly the case among our Continental neighbors, more outspoken than we upon all sexual questions, and unhampered by the thought of Thackeray's Erubescent Young Person. The old, old story is repeated with slight variations from Schopenhauer down to Nietzsche, and from Michelet down to Dumas *fils*. I think it may be studied best in the works of this very humanitarian though amusing dramatist.

"Well, then," asks Mme. Leverdet in his "*Ami des Femmes*," "what conclusion have you come to as a result of your studies of womankind? You needn't mind telling me, for I am a *femme d'esprit*."

"My conclusion," answers De Ryons, the *Ami des Femmes*—"my conclusion is that Woman, such as she exists at present, is a creature entirely illogical, inferior, and harmful—'*un être illogique, subalterne et malfaisant.*'"

The admirable preface of the play, and the whole tenor of the author's works, show that the younger Dumas is making use of the personage of De Ryons to speak his own innermost convictions, and that these are the convictions of a very sincere and very disheartened moralist. As such, they are well worthy of our attention; and—in the light of Mrs. Stetson's words, "Women are over-sexed"—they ought to carry more weight than a cargo of "Woman Question" pamphlets. In the first place, Dumas *fils* is rebelling against the poetical lie, covering so much ugly prose, that "Love is enough." Rebelling, that is to say, against the narrowing of that great word *love* down to a single one of its possible meanings; rebelling against the notion that the power of loving, of giving one's self, body and soul, which is necessary for the efficacy and dignity of all human labor, of all human relationship, should be expended solely in the passion of a man for a woman. He sees and he preaches how small a part sex has a right to play in this big and complex world, how episodic a part in the wide and varied human life. And he sees that the danger and the evil come from what we have learned to call the over-sexed woman, but which he calls, like every Frenchman, merely *La Femme*.

For he is himself that *Femme's* first and foremost victim; he believes in that fearful neo-Latin abstraction as in an inevitable reality. Similar in this to so very different a man as Michelet, Dumas describes *La Femme* as if she were a single and invariable

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type, and, moreover, also the type of a disease. It is altogether impossible to translate into English the particular words which either Michelet or Dumas (I forget which) has coined as expressive of the intimate nature of womankind. But in another place Michelet defines the object of his love and pity, of his very honest "*Frauendienst*"—as "*la femme, toujours faible et souvent furieuse.*"

Dumas, however, is not inferior to Michelet in physiological lore, particularly of the kind offered to the world by men of science rather hungry than scrupulous. In this preface of "*L'Ami des Femmes,*" we have a list of all the possible varieties of *La Femme,* with inventories of her peculiarities, from the lines in her hands to the shape and consistence of her calves, let alone the smoothness or crispness of hair, the flatness or sharpness of nose, the skin which is either always warm or always cold, and those curious olfactory details which prove that, so far as French writers are concerned, it is quite untrue that genus *homo* is inferior to the canine race in the faculty of scent. Physiologically and sociologically, Dumas believes unhesitatingly in the existence of *La Femme.* And believing in her as such, he sees in her a horrible danger to man's moral progress; he sees her attack him, grapple with him, destroy him, in her capacity not of human being, of competitor, of enemy, but in her capacity of woman, of mistress or wife. Against this danger man must eternally struggle; the creature made in God's image must be saved from this diseased piece of its own flesh. Man must diminish the power of woman by diminishing his own sensuality and folly. One feels all through this laughing cynicism a sort of priestly rage at the impossibility of finding out some better mode of continuing the race.

Meanwhile, there women are, and the only thing is to be exceedingly wise and consistent and austere with them; not to be unjust or angry with their miserable nature, which is not any fault of theirs; besides, and that is the worst of it, these sirens, these man-destroying monsters, do everything to make themselves agreeable; these dangerous wild beasts are, alas! charming.

VI.

All this is mere literary exaggeration. There have been an enormous number of most useful women in the world, Mrs. Fry,

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Queen Elizabeth, Joan of Arc, the mother of the Gracchi; and, as a fact, it is these selfsame Latin countries, with all their filthy talk about *La Femme,* her ailments and powers, that bore us Anglo-Saxons almost equally with their talk about the miraculous virtues of *La Mère,* who is, after all, only *La Femme* —well, as the Latins would put it, when she is too old or too busy to be *La Femme.*

Doubtless. And it is not "Women and Economics," nor I, its converted expounder, who give so inordinate an importance to the influence of the over-sexed woman upon the moral cleanness, the chastity, of mankind; it is the very people, like Dumas, who believe, which we do not, in the universal existence and eternal duration of *La Femme.*

Mrs. Stetson has mentioned this aspect of the question, and I have followed her example, because it is certainly an important one. But Mrs. Stetson has taught me to see that there is another aspect, more important by far. The fostering of vices, especially of vices so harmful to the race as those presided over by *La Femme,* is a very grave mischief; but vices, from their very nature, are more or less exceptional and tend to die out. And a far more serious evil consists in the wasting and perverting of virtues, the systematic misapplication of healthy feelings and energies. Now, the chief point made by the author of "Women and Economics," the point which, as it converted myself, ought to convert many others from indifference to the Woman Question, is concerned with the misapplication and waste of the productive energies and generous impulses of men, thanks to the necessity of providing not only for themselves and their offspring, but for a woman who has been brought up not as a citizen, but as a parasite, not as a comrade, but as a servant, or—well, consider the word even in its most sentimental and honorable sense—as a lover. The economic dependence of women (however inevitable and useful in the past) has not merely limited the amount of productive bodily and mental work at the disposal of the community, but it has very seriously increased the mal-distribution of that work and of its products by creating, within the community, a system of units of virtuous egoism, a network of virtuous rapacity which has made the supposed organic social whole a mere gigantic delusion. Virtuous egoism, and virtuous rapacity; for *it is* virtuous on the man's part, husband or intending

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husband, to sacrifice himself for another human being, and the consciousness of the virtue enables the sacrifice to be extended, with a clear conscience, to the interests of the community at large. A man has to be first a good father and husband, and then, with such honesty as remains over, a good citizen.

"Such honesty as remains over! Sacrifice of the community to the wife and children!" you exclaim. "Why, this accusation of yours against the modern man and the modern woman is far more really dreadful than any of that French rubbish about *La Femme* and her victims!" Exactly so; and a great deal more important, because it is a great deal truer and more sweeping. The very fact of its truth not being recognized merely goes to prove how extraordinarily our moral sense in economic matters has been perverted (or has failed to grow), owing to the fact of the man having to supply the material wants and satisfy the caprices not only of himself, but of that "better"—or worse—self who sees the world only through his eyes, and damages the world only through his hands. It is not a question of cheating or robbing; I am not a collectorist. I believe no more in the rights of labor than in the rights of property, and I have no reason for supposing that the author of "Women and Economics" does so either. Our moral obtuseness is, on the contrary, proved irrefutably by our always connecting the idea of dishonesty with such narrow and crass categories as cheating and robbery—cheating and robbery which can be practised only against individuals, and on very rare occasions; besides being severely, perhaps almost too severely, punished. What cannot be punished (but is on the contrary praised and admired, when successful) is exactly the chronic and all-pervading preference of the interest of the individual as against the interest of the community, the debasing of the standard of work and the quality of products. Now, this kind of dishonesty triumphs not merely in commerce and industry (perhaps almost least there, where most visible), but in all the professions which are exercised, and in many cases (bureaucracies of all kinds, civil and ecclesiastic, and who shall say how large a portion of our supposed necessary military system?) are kept in useless existence merely because men have to make a living. "*Je n'en vois pas la nécessité*": the minister might make that simple answer to the unmarried parasite, office-seeker, or journalist, or whatever he was; but no minister, however cynical,

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would dare to question the married man's right—nay, his duty—to support his wife and family, or, more strictly, his wife.

I repeat: *more strictly his wife;* because it is, in reality, not the unborn children, or even the born children, who decide the "standard of living;" but the wife, extremely on the spot, and already accustomed both to a certain degree of expenditure as a reality, and, what is quite as important, to a certain expenditure as an ideal in the future. Even the poorest paupers contrive to rear offspring; and, by a melancholy irony, the greater part of the world's most necessary work happens to be done by people "whose dear papa was poor," as Stevenson makes the good little boy express it. No, no, it is not the children who ask for carriage horses, toilettes, and footmen, or (in more sordid spheres) for the Ibsenian "home for happy people," with its one overworked drudge and its preoccupation about the husband's dinner. It is not even the children who clamor for nurse-maids and governesses and expensive schools: it is the wife.

VII.

"*Tout cela a été fait pour casser,*" remarks Nana, after one of her bouts of destruction. Reputable women do not, usually, while away a dull morning like Zola's ingenuous courtesan; they do not set to tearing and smashing. But the only difference, very often, is that while the light lady destroyed in a couple of hours the product of many men's and many months' labor, the virtuous woman of the well-to-do classes, and of the classes (more numerous and important) aspiring or pretending to such well-to-do-ness, alters, discards, throws away more gradually those objects which are no longer consonant with "what one *has* to have," and whose continued use would therefore suggest the horrid thought that the family was not really well-off; in eminently business countries the thought that the husband's *business* was not thriving. "It is good for trade," remark the more responsible among these ladies, unconsciously echoing a reflexion of that same Nana. It is good for trade: and so is a town being burnt down, or swallowed up by an earthquake, or washed away by a tidal wave. It makes room for more objects (dresses, crockery, furniture, houses, or human beings); but, meanwhile, you have wasted those that were already there, and all the labor and capital they have cost to produce.

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But the spirit of wastefulness is by no means the worst correlative among women of the spirit of rapacity, of "getting wealth, not making it," as Mrs. Stetson luminously describes it, which the economic dependence of the wife develops (as a virtue, too!) in the husband. An enormous amount of the hardness in bargaining, the readiness to take advantage, the willingness to use debasing methods (such as our modern hypnotizing advertisement system), the wholesale acceptance of intellectual and moral, if not material, adulteration of work and its products—correspond in the husband to what is honored as thrift, as *good management,* in the wife. It is more than probable that the time wasted, the bad covetousness excited, the futile ingenuity exercised by the women who crowd round the windows of our great shops and attend their odious "sales," are really the result of a perverted possibility of virtue.

For the man's virtue is to *make money;* the woman's virtue is to *make money go a long way.* And, between the two virtues, we are continually told that a business house cannot give better wages and shorter hours because it would be "crowded out of the market"; and we are told also, by more solemn moralists still, that nations cannot do without war, lest they lose their "commercial outlets," or fail to secure those they have not got.

Who can object? All these people are good husbands and good wives; the home is the pivot of our morality. And the most disheartening thing is, that all this is true.

VIII.

How do you propose to remedy it? By what arrangements do you expect to make the wife the economic equal of her husband, the joint citizen of the community?

I propose nothing, because I do not know. All I feel sure of is, that if people only want a change sufficiently strongly and persistently, that change will work out its means in one way or another. Which way? is a question often unanswerable, because the practical detail depends upon other practical details which the continuance of the present state of things is hiding from us, or even forbidding. And because, moreover, we are surrounded on all sides by resources which become available only in connection with other resources, and only under the synthetic power of desire. The lids of boiling kettles went on rising all

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through Antiquity and the Middle Ages; but the notion of using that expansive movement of steam could not occur until people had already got roads and mariner's compasses and mechanical mills, and until people were beginning to find stage-coaches and sailing vessels and wind-mills and water-mills a little unsatisfactory. The integration of women as *direct* economic, and therefore *direct* moral and civic, factors in the community, is not a more difficult question than the question of the integration of the laboring classes into the real life of nations; and yet the "social question" will find, some day, its unexpected solution; and the "Woman Question" will, very likely, have to be settled beforehand.

Have to be settled? I would have said "settle itself," for that is more like my meaning, if it were not that I wish to insist that questions do not *settle themselves* satisfactorily, unless we wish and help them to do so. It is for the sake of such increase of wish for a change in the economic position of women, or, at all events, a diminution of the present very strong prejudice against such a change, that the discussion of ways and means appears, to me at least, principally useful. I do not agree with Mrs. Stetson's suggestion of our eventually living in a kind of hotel, or at least dining permanently in a restaurant; but the discussion of such a plan, odious as it appears to me, is infinitely useful in accustoming us to the thought that some arrangement will require to be devised for delivering women from the necessities of housekeeping. I see some similar usefulness even in discussions about the future of women (including the possibility of that famous "third sex" which haunts the imagination of the Latin believers in *La Femme),* such as I. H. Rosny has introduced (I scarcely know whether as a joke or not) into his "*Chemin d'Amour.*"

Besides this fact, the one thing certain about the future of women is, surely, that they ought to be given a chance, by the removal of legal and professional disabilities, if not of becoming different from what they have been, at all events of showing what they really are. For one of the paradoxes of this most paradoxical question is precisely that, with all our literature about *La Femme,* and all our violent discussions, economical, physiological, psychological, sociological (each deciding according to some hypothesis of his immature science), as to what women must or

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must not be allowed to do, and what women must and must not succeed or fail in, we do not really know what women *are*. Women, so to speak, as a natural product, as distinguished from women as a creation of men; for women, hitherto, have been as much a creation of men as the grafted fruit tree, the milch cow, or the gelding who spends six hours in pulling a carriage, and the rest of the twenty-four standing in a stable.

One of the very great uses of Mrs. Stetson's most useful book is to accustom those who *can* think, to think in terms of change, of adaptation, of evolution; to free us from the superstition that the present is the type of the eternal, and that our preferences of to-day are what decide the fate of the universe. *Woman*—even letting alone *La Femme*—is, so to speak, the last scientific survival of the pre-Darwinian belief in the invariability of types; *Woman,* I may add, is almost a relic of the philosophy of the Middle Ages; for has not *woman* an *essence,* something quite apart from herself, an essence like the "*virtus dormitiva*" of opium (not always so tranquillizing), an essential quality of being—well, being a woman?

One word more. There is a notion, founded in the main on the facts of a period of struggle, segregation of interests, and general uncomfortable transition, that if women attain legal and economic independence, if they get to live, bodily and intellectually and socially, a life more similar, I might say more symmetrical, to that of men, they will necessarily become—let us put it plainly, less attractive to possible husbands. Of course they will; if they have changed, they will no longer realize the ideal of gracefulness, beauty, and lovableness of the particular men who like them just as they are; but then those particular men will themselves probably no longer exist. Moreover, there is, undoubtedly, a certain correlation between the qualities of the two sexes, due to the fact, which we are all of us (not only M. Durkheim with his "division of labor") inclined to forget, namely, that the woman is, after all, not merely the *wife* (since that noble word must be put to such mean use) of the man, but also his daughter, his sister, and his companion; and that, as such, he requires her to be not *unlike,* but *like* himself. There is, if we watch for it, a family resemblance, after all, between the men and women of the same country. I was very much struck, while at Tangier, by the fact that the husbands of those veiled and painted Moorish women

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were themselves so oddly like women in men's clothes, those languid Moors lolling in their shops, with black beards which looked almost as if they had been gummed on to their delicate white faces: the ultra-feminine woman belonged, quite naturally, to the effeminate man. In a similar way, the "masculine" Englishwoman, fox-hunting, Alpine-climbing, boating, is the natural companion of the out-of-door, athletic, sporting, colonizing Englishman; she has been taught by her big brothers during their holidays "*not to be a muff*"; she has learned to be ashamed of the things "the boys" would be ashamed of. And, living as I do equally among Latins and Anglo-Saxons, I have got to guess that, if the Latins see a "third sex" in a portion of Anglo-Saxon womankind, the Anglo-Saxons, on the other hand, have a vague but strong feeling that a corresponding category might be found among the Latin males morally emasculated by belief in *La Femme*. For if *manly* be an adjective denoting certain virtues, and *effeminate* an adjective denoting certain weaknesses, you may be sure that the same civilization, the same habits and preferences, will produce more of the one than of the other in all the members of a race, just because they do belong to the same race.

And let me remind Mrs. Stetson's readers that it is just the most æsthetic, but also the most athletic, people of the past which has left us those statues of gods and goddesses in the presence of whose marvellous vigor and loveliness we are often in doubt whether to give the name of Apollo, or that of Athena.

VERNON LEE.

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STRIKES AND THE PUBLIC WELFARE.

BY JOHN HANDIBOE.

A LABOR strike is a logical consequence of unswerving belief in the inviolability and preëminence of private rights. But it must be accepted as a political necessity that public welfare should always be placed above private interest. That it is not always so placed is due quite as much to public indifference and supineness as to the selfish prosecution of private enterprise. The truth of this statement is demonstrated by the organization and operation of great trusts and combines alleged to be lawless and rapacious; by the creation and maintenance of political "machines"; by the sovereignty of "bossism"; by the frequent prostitution of public office to party advantage or necessity, and by the corrupt use of public moneys for party and private profit. All of these, in a greater or lesser degree, are denounced as opposed to the public welfare; but the public seldom, if ever, interferes.

It is undeniable that society is still within the period of evolution, and it is quite as indisputable that a desirable rate of progression has not been attained in labor matters. The condition of civilized man has improved immeasurably in modern times. War, while always cruel, is less savage than formerly. A won battlefield is no longer a scene of inhuman butchery; a fallen city is not now given up to slaughter and rapine; the soldier is no longer brutalized by harsh treatment. The administration of the laws and the methods of punishing offenders alone mark a wonderful degree of progress. The cruel punishments that formerly were inflicted upon criminals are obsolete. There is no longer confinement in unspeakably foul dungeons, no myriad crimes of capital degree. But one relic of barbarism remains—solitary confinement, and this penologists will in time eradicate. The treatment of the insane, in older days, was essentially barbarous. They were

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not regarded as human beings whose peculiar and pathetic ailments should have especially considerate treatment, but as creatures whose illusions and unreasonable deportment necessitated repression by violence. This has been changed, and the rare rumors of maltreatment in hospitals for the insane, and in charitable and penal institutions, simply prove the stability of the rule. In the intercourse of man with his kind, individual welfare is more carefully safeguarded than ever before; the privileges of even the humblest citizen are more generally recognized and accorded; the settlement of private disputes by the arbitrament of the strong arm is no longer a predominating proof of good breeding, and drunkenness and debauchery have become abhorrent to the great mass of the people. Notwithstanding this satisfactory improvement, a weak point in the social structure is still to be found in the relations between capital and labor.

These two elements of industrial life have never been in sympathy, and will probably never be wholly harmonious. Despite the assurances of eloquent orators to the contrary, capital and labor are not being brought closer together. The wars they wage upon each other will be continued so long as the public shall be content to permit its privileges to be violated and ignored, and so long as it shall refrain either from compelling the battling elements to settle their quarrels in such a way that public peace and general business shall not be disturbed, or from settling it for them. But it must not be assumed that only one side is at fault in the frequently recurring labor disputes. In too many instances, harsh measures have been resorted to by both sides. Upon the declaration of a strike, the workmen concerned have frequently taken practical possession of the industrial plants of employers, with the intention of preventing the operation of those plants by other workmen. On the other hand, employers have often, when a strike had begun, employed a force of special policemen for the avowed protection of the plants when no protection was required. While in many cases the necessity for protection quickly became patent, in others there was no really valid reason for the hiring of a private army. It is alleged, not without show of justification, that these special policemen have occasionally, by their own violence, precipitated the riots which it undoubtedly was the desire and should have been the business of the public to prevent, indeed to make impossible. In either case, whether hostili-

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ties were begun by employer or employee, public welfare was ignored by private interest. The sudden strike has been matched by the lockout; intimidation of employees, by the anti-interference injunction; the boycott, by the blacklist. In whatever manner or direction the industrial disturbance may be manifested, the public is compelled to suffer. There has been too much of "the public be d——d" sentiment in these affairs, and it has now become the public duty to declare emphatically and definitively that labor disputants shall have no more right to disturb public tranquillity by recourse to a test of strength and endurance, than a pair of bruisers have to settle their differences in the street.

One point which many employers of labor do not consider with comprehensive appreciation of its importance is, that labor unions must be taken into all the calculations of industrial enterprise. Labor unions have come to stay; their perpetuity is assured; and their increasing importance, as a factor in social and industrial development, cannot be disputed. It would seem that in this connection such employers make a vital mistake; they refuse to treat with employees as a body of united workmen, and declare their determination to consider these men only as individuals. This error is the natural progenitor of the mistake of refusing to meet workmen in joint conferences as to wage scales or grievances, and declining to submit to arbitration matters in dispute. As an illustration of the bad effects of continued refusals of conferences, it is necessary only to state (and the writer is wholly impartial and disinterested) that these have been a source of irritation and disturbance in the anthracite region of Pennsylvania. Participation, by employers, in a joint conference would naturally be set down as recognition of the union, by the employer, who is determined to vouchsafe no such recognition; and by the union men, who would willingly relinquish other points for the one concession of recognition. On the part of employers, too, such participation is feared as an admission of willingness to arbitrate. It is to be regretted that the announcement that "we have nothing to arbitrate" has not been succeeded by a temperate acknowledgment of the paramountcy of public welfare, especially under circumstances which forebode the disruption of the peace of a community, a county or a State. This announcement, however, is equalled by labor's declaration that "we are opposed to compulsory arbitration." In such case, the public should protect itself.

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A strike, whether forced by employer or employee, may, and usually does, affect many persons not directly concerned in the dispute. The strikes in the coal regions afford an apt illustration. The miners quit work; no coal is mined; there is none to be hauled; coal-train crews and railroad shopmen are suspended, there being no employment for them; coal becomes scarce and the prices are advanced; industrial plants cannot obtain supplies, are shut down and workpeople are forced into idleness; the financial loss becomes enormous and the distress of families deprived of income grows acute; there is rioting and men are wounded, perhaps killed; families are plunged into grief and mourning, where death stalks with want; the military are called out, and may be compelled to restore order by violent methods; the public must pay for this force in the field, for the rioting, for property destroyed, for the arrest, conviction and maintenance of imprisoned rioters; over a wide area all business is disturbed, and in some places it is completely paralyzed. Which party to the dispute may be the cause of all this loss and misery, is of no importance whatever. The important point is, that the public has too long submitted, too long uncomplainingly paid the price, too long aided and abetted in its own undoing.

It will undoubtedly be forever impossible for employer and employee to take the same view of unionism and labor disputes, internal or otherwise. Labor's real or supposed views upon these and correlated matters have been given repeatedly, by all sorts and conditions of men, and it must be said that labor's champions have not always placed it in the best light, for the union labor field has been long an inviting arena for the demagogue. On the side of the employer, though not at that time speaking as his especial advocate, President George F. Baer, of the Philadelphia and Reading Railroad, recently gave an interesting exposition of the anti-union view. In January, 1902, President Baer, in an address at Franklin and Marshall College, on the subject "Work is Worship," said that all labor is noble and ennobling, that to work is the duty of all men, and that the right to work must not be denied to anybody. Upon the latter points he said:

"Is liberty to work less desirable than liberty to worship? Can the one live without the other? Are we freemen in the sense of the Declaration of Independence, whose liberties are vouchsafed by the Constitution, if there be any power in this broad land to control our choice of labor?

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Shall we be denied the right to work in the lawful vocations of man because we do not belong to a particular labor organization?

"Let it be said once for all, that it is, as it ought to be, lawful for laborers to organize; to use all lawful means to obtain higher wages and better conditions, and to quit work singly or in a body.

"This is their liberty. But has not every man a similar liberty of action? If he chooses to work at any vocation, and on any terms, is not this his liberty? And what moral or legal right has a labor organization to deprive him of his inalienable liberty to work? Yet, it is being done every day. Men are driven from work, threatened, abused, called all manner of harsh names, their wives and children are insulted, and a social ostracism is established, which compels good, honest workmen to bear the pangs of hunger rather than endure the threats and gibes of their fellow-workmen. In some trades employers are not permitted to employ workmen without labor-organization cards. Union men will not work with non-union men. Was ever greater tyranny practised by one set of men over their fellow-men?"

The speaker adverted to the futility of volunteer and amateur plans for the settlement of labor disputes, as follows:

"Our friends of the Civic Federation, perhaps realizing how impracticable it is to bring about good results by such a division of employer and employee into hostile camps, have suggested a plan to solve the whole problem. It is based on the delusive and impracticable idea that this stupendous problem can be adjusted to the satisfaction of all by a Board of Conciliation, not selected by the parties in interest, but created by the Civic Federation—a self-constituted Witenagemote—a Court without jurisdiction and without a Sheriff to enforce its judgments.

"Much allowance must be made for enthusiastic men who are willing to join in any movement that tends to benefit society. Nevertheless, no practical good can ever come from this movement; but just to the extent that it excites expectations never to be realized, it will work much mischief in the land."

It is thus made apparent that such disputes cannot be settled without recourse to a desperate struggle between the parties, except by a method which will take the matter out of their hands, or enforce a settlement with regard only for the rights and privileges of the public. When private or public right is invaded and nullified is a question upon which the parties to a labor controversy cannot be expected to agree. Certainly, union men have a right to strike. If conditions, present or prospective, do not please them, they cannot be prevented from severing all connection with the persons who had employed them. But the employer has an equal right to hire other men when his employees desert. With

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equal moral justice it must be contended that, if the individual employee has the privilege of abandoning his employment and seeking service elsewhere, at his own convenience and without regard to the convenience or wishes of the employer, the latter can discharge any individual whenever he may desire and for any reason he may conclude is sufficient. No privilege, whether moral or industrial, can safely be accorded to one man or set of men and denied to another man or set of men. It is claimed by labor leaders that the employers, if not halted by the power of organized labor and a constant threat of a consequent strike, could discharge, singly, every union man in his employ and hire non-union men. The sufficient reply to this is, that whenever they find the plan practicable organized workingmen compel employers to discharge non-union men and employ union men in their stead.

The problem of preventing costly or sanguinary strikes, or of reducing to a minimum their recurrence, ought not to be altogether unsolvable. As a prerequisite, all labor unions, whether local, State or national, should be incorporated. Many labor men object to this, on the ground that incorporation would expose unions to dangers which they now escape—to frequent prosecutions as corporations, to mulctings in heavy damages for violations of injunctions by courts, etc. But the very fact that such objections are raised argues strenuously for incorporation and not against it. The two parties should be upon an equal footing somewhere, and the common ground should be equal responsibility for violation of contracts. At present, labor unions can abrogate a contract, real or implied, at a moment's warning, without the least fear of consequential punishment of any kind; and there is nothing to prevent employers from doing likewise. There must be created a responsibility for the performance of wage or work contracts as a basis for the elimination of all deterrents that now prevent cure of the strike evil. For this purpose, there should be a binding contract entered into by employer and employee, and he who violates it should be held accountable under the law. Such contract cannot be made, however, unless employers recognize the labor union, which many of them now refuse to do—and unless labor unions become incorporated, a step to which they have no inclination.

With this much accomplished, the next step would naturally be toward compulsory arbitration, where this should become neces-

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sary. Although capital and labor are opposed to this, the public, which is the greatest sufferer when a great strike occurs, is not concerned with the predilections of either, but with the preservation of its own interests. The capital that "has nothing to arbitrate," even though it had been forced into an unfair and unwarranted dispute, is autocratically determined to ignore any contention that the public has anything at stake; while, on the other hand, labor leaders who oppose compulsory arbitration may be, to a certain extent, actuated by apprehension that it would deprive them of some of their immense power in the union and reduce their importance as manipulators of strikes and peace negotiations. Questions which are supposed to show that the proposed plan of strike settlement is subversive of private right are: Can the law direct what wages an employer shall pay, whom he shall employ, and how many hours shall constitute a day's work? Can the finding of a Board of Arbitration be made binding upon the parties at issue? It is argued that a law specifically designed for the adjustment of labor disputes would be unconstitutional, because it would invade the rights and privileges of the individual and take out of his hands the prerogative of controlling his own business. Theoretically, that is true; practically, it is not true. For the good of the community, laws are enacted and enforced which deprive men of thorough freedom of action and regulate even the degree of personal liberty which they may enjoy. In his own home, he must comport himself in such manner that he shall not annoy his neighbors. He must send his children to school, whether he wants to or not. He must build his house, his factory or his theatre as the law specifies. He cannot dress as he may elect, although he boasts that the contrary is the case. The employer should not be permitted to endanger the peace of any community by an appeal to the opinions of Mr. Bounderby; and the employee should be prevented from putting into practice the teachings of the ranting demagogue. A compulsory arbitration law need not regulate the wages paid by any man to any other man. But it would provide for the hearing and determination of a wage dispute, when the parties to that dispute are not inclined to end the matter peacefully for themselves.

The plan for compulsory arbitration cannot be belittled by arguments that it is visionary, revolutionary and impracticable. Institutions which were once so regarded have become civilized

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man's greatest privileges, rights and safeguards. Trial by jury has been established instead of armed retaliation; liberty of conscience, once believed to be a heretical dream, has been won after the shedding of oceans of blood; the shameful and oppressive rights of nobles, once supposed to be inherent, have been nearly all destroyed, and the equality of men is nearing universal recognition. And, more to the point, a compulsory industrial arbitration law has been in successful operation in New Zealand for a number of years.

Unions having been incorporated, a system of contracts provided, and a compulsory arbitration law enacted, the plans for preventing strikes could be said to be well advanced. Such a law need not be invoked in all cases, but only when all other efforts toward the settlement of a dispute shall have been exhausted. The employer and his employee should endeavor to adjust matters at issue between them without the interference of anybody else, walking delegate, union official or other functionary. And it is obvious that, with a compulsory arbitration law enacted, such adjustments would be reached with growing frequency. In no case should a "sympathy" strike, or a strike in a whole labor district where only a local grievance is to be determined, be permitted under a law of compulsory arbitration. Unless the dispute of itself spread beyond a local area, the district officers of a union should not be called upon to conduct negotiations or direct the actions of the workingmen. The smaller the area of disaffection shall be, the greater will be the probability of a peaceful settlement. But if, as is now too frequently the case, neither side is inclined to give ear to the other, the preëminence of the public should be demonstrated. Then compulsory arbitration should be invoked and enforced, and recalcitrants should be punished for violation of the orders of the Board. With the unions, as well as the employers, incorporated, this could be done. With compulsory arbitration operative, we should have closer relations between capital and labor; fewer disturbances of business; the elimination of private armies; less marching and intimidation; less rioting and bloodshed; less financial loss to the community; fewer strikes; and the placing of real public welfare above supposititious private right.

JOHN HANDIBOE.

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CECIL RHODES.

BY H. CUST, M.P.

"Every expansion of civilization makes for peace. In other words every expansion of a great civilized power makes for law, order and righteousness. . . . In every instance the expansion has been of benefit not so much to the power nominally benefited, as to the whole civilized world."

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT,
"The Strenuous Life," "Expansion and Liberty."

THERE are very few among the sons of men who, born not in the list of kings and warriors and philosophers, have power within them to change profoundly the maps and minds of humanity. They are yet more rare and happy to whom it is given to see in large measure their work accomplished while they live. The savage selfishness of Napoleon could ransack Europe with a sword; but when the storm had thundered past, the crops that ripened to harvest were none of his sowing. From the high serenity of Bacon flowed streams of thought that have fertilized and beautified the lives of generations. But it was the work of the generations themselves which made those thoughts to move and have their active being. Force and ambition are common enough in history. Power and ideas are seldom allied in their highest quality. If to create, if to make two blades of grass grow where but one grew before, be to exercise the highest faculty of man, you will find very few indeed who, unaided from the outset by birth, fortune, or any save their own support, have reached the height of that achievement. Fewer still are men who have done these things unselfishly and done them so that they shall lastingly endure. Amongst that chosen few I do not hesitate to write the name of Cecil Rhodes.

It is not my purpose to tell anecdotes of Rhodes. I would seek

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rather to consider whence he came, what he aimed at, and what he achieved. Lastly, I would try to measure the probable results of his great, strange life.

With the exception of clean and gentle breeding, Rhodes started with nothing. He had no position, no money, no backing and no health. Like Clive, he was a millionaire at thirty-four; like Clive, he died before he was fifty. Like Clive, though far less gravely, he transgressed against the common morals of men; and like Clive, but far more extensively, he did famous things for the greatness of his country and for the good of humanity. In the sins of blood and money, which are apt to make the currency of great men's crimes, Rhodes is answerable to no heavy reckoning. In laying the foundations of human happiness, his personal achievement is, I think, unequalled. "Homes, more homes; that's what I want!" he said suddenly, as he gazed at the beautiful fertilities of Rhodesia. That "homes" in his mind included strong, working, fighting Englishmen and healthy breeding Englishwomen, did not exclude that passion for human well-being which was one of his deepest if unheralded inspirations.*

Rhodes was not a man of culture in any sense. His Oxford experience had left, I think, rather an impression of value than the value itself. He was older and more versed in the world than those who were with him. He perceived imaginatively, but very vividly, how potent might be the influence of such a setting and such a training upon young and plastic minds, especially if those minds came fresh from a wholly alien and almost hostile environment. But I do not think that, saving a tag of Aristotle and an appreciation of Gibbon, he owed anything intellectually to Oxford. In Gibbon he found imperturbably recounted the stately process of the centuries through which the Empires and Religions rose and fell, and men were as naught, except, and this was rare, when they stood or maybe fell for character or ideas. And in pondering that majestic ebb and flow of mortal things, it pleased him, I think, to place himself among those who stood for much and for good in the unfolding story of an Empire greater still and of a race more dominant. For never within the

* I am, of course, aware that to those who mistakenly and ignorantly attribute to Rhodes the massacre and ill-treatment of natives and the main responsibility of the Boer War, these words will seem absurd. But if space allows I will return to this point later.

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British Empire alone did Rhodes reckon the numbers and the power of the Anglo-Saxon race.* I think, too, from what I have heard him say, that to the scope and the restraint of Gibbon he owed something of that hope and patience and out-reaching foresight which made thoughts and plans, fantastic and unsane to others, to his mind's eye not probable but certain.

What, then, was the equipment and endowment which led from so simple a launch in life to a voyage of fame and power and achievement such as few have sailed? To myself it has always seemed, since I have had any means of judging, that the primary power, the mastering faculty, of Rhodes was Imagination. Elaborate analysis of those we live with is mainly idle, but the passion for explanation or even suggestion is rooted deep in modern men. The imagination of Rhodes was not that of a poet. He dreamed, indeed; but his dreams were not presences to be put by, they grew to purposes. His seeing, perhaps, was rather that of the mathematician. His imagination was prehensile. What he imagined clearly, he actually saw, and what he saw he touched, and in time it was. "Imagined clearly," I say; for nothing is more astonishing in the man than the deliberation and method he employed in the use of his wonderful vision. The very reality of the fancied fabric he would build brought a cold, hard sanity to choose the means by which he would approach it. He would neither haste nor rest. If one plan failed, another must be found, until the Thing was done. At first we know he fancied freely around the uses of his life, tried this and found that wanting, and sought another way. For it lay in his early wisdom to know that to one man is only one work given, however great and wide that task may be. A man may help or hinder many things: one great thing alone in one short life may he do. Rhodes, like Goethe, set his own limitations and built bounds to the sea.

There exists a Confession of Faith written in the wildness of the African veldt by one who was little more than a boy. It is dated 1877. Therein is recorded the searching and the separating of the ways, therein the weighing and the balance of the values. Therein the careful and final choice from which till death the man should neither wince nor waver. To understand Virtue as "the highest activity of the soul living for the highest object in a

* Rhodes provided in his will 60 scholarships for the British Empire, 60 for the United States, and 15 for the German Empire.

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perfect life"; to set his life, with whatever force it might contain or generate, on the lines of what seemed to him the plainest purpose of the power that governs or guides the world: thereto to work, thereto to live, thereto to die: this was his plain intent. And, as the mists of thinking cleared, to Rhodes at the end both choice and course were clear. He saw, as he thought, in the Anglo-Saxon race the appointed means by which the kingdom of freedom, justice and happiness should be enlarged on earth. The history of the British Empire and of the United States seemed to him to urge imperatively his peculiar task. He was to widen the bounds of light and make the skirts of darkness narrower.

I do not think that the formula of his purpose can be more clearly laid than in the words written by President Roosevelt, which I have set forth at the beginning of this article. And indeed that remarkable book, "The Strenuous Life," seems again and again to breathe the very spirit and the words of Rhodes.*

"Every expansion of civilization makes for peace. In other words every expansion of a great civilized power makes for law, order and righteousness. . . . In every instance the expansion has been of benefit not so much to the power nominally benefited, as to the whole civilized world."

Rhodes then had found his allegiance. It rests to see how he applied his powers to fulfil the service of his life. He must be armed for the battle. The chosen weapon of to-day is money. He wanted not luxury but a lever. "What's the good of having big ideas if you have not got the money to carry them out?" he said to Gordon when the latter with complacent pedantry told of his refusal of a room full of gold. But even in the quick necessary money-making, his imagination saw and won the shortest way, though it seemed impossible. So he amalgamated the diamond output of the world.

Then to his truer work. England was small and crowded. Men, women and commerce waxed and overflowed. The Islands were full. The very Empire would not hold its children in the years to which Rhodes's outlook reached. Rivals were busy, enterprising, unscrupulous. "More homes" was already the call within him. Northward, he saw lands far and fertile, reaching, it

* Compare "The Strenuous Life," p. 113, "Character and Success," with portions of Rhodes's will.

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might be, to the shores of the Mediterranean. They were unknown, indeed, unmapped and unexplored. The dream was monstrous. But Rhodes's sane imagination saw them English, ("all red" he said, almost a boy, laying his hand upon the map), and English they are almost to an acre on this day,—English but open on equal terms to every race and every trade on earth, as was his national tradition and his will. It is unnecessary, even were it possible, to relate at length the various long-drawn methods and unfailing resources by which his dreams were done into facts. But in every case the same imaginative quality inspired the motive and dominated the execution. In his life-long struggle against the influence and ambitions of President Krüger, the struggle, as the world is slowly growing to understand, between progress and reaction, between freedom and bondage, it was, I think, imagination that decided the result. At many times Krüger held all the cards. But Rhodes could imagine himself into the Boer point of view, and Krüger could imagine nothing but a Boer, and indeed of the Boers not all. So that it fell later that many of the pick of the Transvaal Boers left their homes and their Republic to follow Rhodes to his new pastures, and I have seen a thriving township of above a thousand such together, who were impenetrable and deaf to the loud recalling voice of their old President.

Throughout the whole of what we may call Rhodes's foreign policy, his strength and his victory lay in his vision of what the other side desired and of how they hoped to achieve it. Hence the success of his first political enterprise, the maintenance of the open door to the North. The Boers were beforehand, the English Government behind. The way of the future was saved by Rhodes and Rhodes alone; and though a little British army came to back him, no shot was fired.* For he felt that had he been a Boer he would have desired and done as they did. That knowledge taught him the counter-stroke to meet them with; and his young wisdom made them feel in turn that there was a more excellent way. But he knew, too, that, though policy was good and persuasion powerful, the force of the fist was the last and determining judge. "For the *ultimate* success of your policy," wrote Sir Robert Morier, Ambassador at St. Petersburg, to Sir William White, Ambassador at Constantinople, "you would require to

* The Bechuanaland Expedition under Sir Charles Warren, 1884.

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have at your back a *man,* with the very newest repeating rifle, very sharp balls and very dry powder, and not a Philistine carrying a blunderbuss loaded with cow dung." Rhodes would have agreed. He sought peace and ensued it. Only he knew that a bad peace is worse than a good war, and that war can be good. But his resources to win by peace were infinite. When Krüger blocked the railway and tried to shut away Cape Colony and England from the Transvaal, Rhodes in a moment organized a swift service of wagons. Krüger, in defiance of the Convention, forbade their entry and closed the drifts or fords across the Vaal. War threatened and, as Rhodes foresaw, Krüger gave way. When there was no hope that the British Government would even accept the gift of seven hundred and fifty thousand square miles of rich and fertile territory beyond the Limpopo and Zambesi, Rhodes after long travail imagined the Charter, imagining saw and touched, and made it and paid for it and brought a new Empire to birth.

Only once did his judgment fail or seem to fail him. No man could wish for a worse gift than whitewash, and Rhodes had ever the courage to stick to the intention of his mistakes. That the Jameson Raid was a gross (but not in the least a fatal) blunder, he willingly admitted. It would need too much time and too little discretion to tell all the story of that misbegotten undertaking. Rhodes took the main responsibility. Once again his imagination of the minds of other people served him truly. There is a wind which the biggest tree is wise to bow to. Rhodes yielded for the moment. He was ever, it may be, over-careless to contradict or to justify. He trusted to time and his work. I do not think that those great agents will play him false.

But though for a moment the cloud was upon him, it was not in Rhodes to bate one jot of heart or hope. He still "bore up and steered right onward." He was to act at the back of the stage for a while and not in the glare of the footlights. But, though unseen, he was never idle. His relentless labor made men feel sometimes that he knew his day was not a long one, and that he heard time's winged chariot hurrying near. I remember last November in Italy my wonder at the silent unknown work he was carrying through. His mind was building what his hand should do. Despite the drive of health, and though he knew that much he purposed was beyond his span, he neither hastened nor delayed, but worked and waited the appointed day. There, lying around him,

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were the maps and plans of the Railway from the Cape to Cairo; there the plan and elevation and estimate of the Girder Bridge across the Zambesi at the Victoria Falls; there was the planned and half-completed programme of the Trans-Continental Telegraph; there the reports of the dozen or more exploring parties working for him north of the Zambesi and throughout Barotseland. It seemed that life and death, praise and blame, reward and disaster were alike indifferent, so that his vow of service was fulfilled and his work, as in his power lay, accomplished.

But perhaps there is no side of Rhodes's life which better illustrates the power and elasticity of his applied imagination than the story of his dealing with the Dutch of Cape Colony.

It is true that there was, deep down in his English nature, a sympathy with some of their primary instincts. To myself, though the idea seems a very contradiction of his life's work, Rhodes seemed a feudalist. He loved the land, the mere brown fertile mother soil, with all the curious passion of a Boer. He loved the wide spaces and the bath of sun and the wash of air. I doubt if he was ever happier than when he was farming on a giant scale and laying out his properties as a colossal country gentleman in the Colony or in Rhodesia. He liked, too, I think, the quasi-feudal hierarchy which property in the land sets up, the graduation through a common interest from the owner of the soil to the man who handles the earth itself. He believed in the influence of the land on men. When first he imagined a "Westminster Abbey" for South Africa, whether amid the mysterious immemorial temples of Zimbabwe, as he at first determined, or in the rugged recesses of the Matoppo Hills, the choice of the great dead, worthy so great a sepulture, was to rest with a two-thirds vote of the landed proprietors of South Africa. In his Will he writes: "And whereas I humbly believe that one of the secrets of England's strength has been the existence of a class termed 'The Country Landlords,' who devote their efforts to the maintenance of those on their own property. And whereas this has been my own experience. Now therefore I direct, etc." These are strange thoughts and words from the revolutionary, the gold grubber, the diamond hunter, the capitalist, as Rhodes has been so frequently and falsely called. But, to those who know anything of the Boers, it need not be told that this rooted sentiment in and for the land clothed him with a sympathy, an understand-

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ing and an attraction for them which no other English leader in South Africa has ever possessed. But Rhodes knew from the outset that this sympathy, though it found him opportunity, did not give him power. And power was necessary to his purpose. To win his battle, he had to make the enemy his soldiers.

The relations of Rhodes with the Dutch have been very widely and very naturally misunderstood; indeed, some personal knowledge of South Africa is almost imperative to render them intelligible. In 1882, the year after the Majuba settlement, which we may take as a starting point, the Dutch were undoubtedly in the majority in Cape Colony. The Transvaal was autonomous, if not independent. England was despised, and rightly despised. She had done and undone, she had blustered, tried, failed and retreated. A policy and a propaganda were openly and officially set up by the Dutch leaders, the aim of which was to establish a united South Africa under the Dutch flag. At this moment Rhodes entered the field with an equally plain policy and creed, which he formulated in the Cape Assembly in 1883: "I believe in a United States of South Africa, but as a portion of the British Empire." The lists were fairly set, and the issue and the antagonists declared. But each side owned a trouble. For neither side was ready. The Bond, as the Dutch political organization was called, had, before the discovery of the Transvaal Gold Fields, neither money nor armaments. Rhodes had no party, no position, and no support from the Home Government. Hofmeyer, the leader of the Bond, saw that to build up and develop the resources that he needed English wealth and English enterprise were of first necessity. Rhodes saw that to lay the foundation of his work and to expand Northward was impossible without the Dutch majority to back him. There was little or no disguise and little or no deception. Each party held a proper faith in the rightness of its purpose, and in its ability to carry that purpose through. There were moments of tension and clash, but each was loyally disloyal, consoled by the abiding certainty of ultimate triumph.

In 1878, Rhodes (aged 25) said to Dr. Jameson that he meant "to have the whole unmarked country North of the (Cape) Colony for England, and I know I can get it and develop it at present only by the co-operation of the Cape Dutch Colonists, and I am perfectly willing to pay the price." The price to be paid was mainly the humoring of Dutch prejudices in (Cape Colony)

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domestic affairs. But, whatever he may have so yielded, he never bated one jot of his perfect loyalty to his ideal of Imperial expansion and Anglo-Saxon supremacy. To quote old speeches is almost as wearisome in a magazine as in the House of Commons. But this point is important, as it has been widely told that Rhodes aspired to a Federation of independent South Africa under his own control, and used the Dutch to win it. We have heard his words in 1883. In 1890, as Prime Minister he said at Kimberley, speaking of the union of South Africa, "I know myself that I am not prepared at any time to forfeit my flag. If I have to forfeit my flag you take away everything." Again, at Kimberley in 1891, speaking to the Dutch Bond itself (to which he owed his position) and discussing the feeling of the English Colonists, "Remember," he said, "that we have been trained at home; we have our history and our nation to look back upon, and we believe that, with your help, it is possible to obtain that union (of South Africa), fulfilling in every respect your ideas of self-government; and yet, you will not be asking us to forfeit our full loyalty and devotion to the Mother Country."

Despite immeasurable patience, policy and pertinacity in his desire to fuse and unite South Africa by peaceful methods, Rhodes failed. I think myself it was well he failed. The upstart wealth of the Transvaal, the contemptible record of successive English Governments and the perfectly legitimate aspirations of Dutch enthusiasm combined to make blood and iron the only and the final arbiters. The Johannesburg conspiracy which was right, the Jameson Raid which was wrong, determined the way of issue. Rhodes acquiesced. But when the final settlement is adjusted, the name and the work of Rhodes will, I think, be one of the few English ideas—for throughout South Africa Rhodes is an *idea*—which will inspire confidence in the curious nature of the Boers. For their fear of him, which was not far from hate, wavered ever to and from an awe which was not far from love.

The death of Rhodes found much done, but much left to do. Immediately after the Raid, when darkness and discredit seemed closing upon him, he said publicly, with splendid optimism, that his political career was only just beginning. It may be that he foresaw the war as then inevitable, though there is no doubt that he was wholly mistaken in his estimate of the fighting strength of the Boers. It is, rather, likely that he felt that the founda-

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tions of his work were well and truly laid. Men less insatiate of progress might well have died content. He had mastered half a continent; he had made a new world.

The highest triumph of most modern men of state has been to destroy or at most to preserve. To Rhodes it was given to build and to build greatly. And he loved completion. He did not dip into the future. He abode within its gates. His greatest work, that Empire of Rhodesia, was, as he knew, for good or evil, never to perish except with the history of the world. But a father loves to see the manhood of his son, and that was denied. His prevision and provision in this regard were very striking, and I will give one more instance of that applied imagination which to me characterized the man. The point is somewhat technical, but it will at least interest statesmen; and, though wholly, I think, ignored by biographers and critics, I know that Rhodes valued the achievement as among his best. We have seen that the crown of Rhodes's labor was to be the federation of an autonomous South Africa under the British flag. Every step he took led thither: to this was every other end subservient. But his imagination flashed further yet. The dream beyond death was the federation of the Empire, and ultimately of the Anglo-Saxon race. ("Do you ever feel *murderous?*" he wrote when young: "I do when I think of the English politicians who threw away America".) But he knew the modern world and the growing tendency. "I have tried," he said, to a meeting of the Chartered Company, to which no penny of dividend had ever been paid, "I have tried to combine imagination with commerce"; just as he had insisted on inserting in the Articles of the Diamond Amalgamation a power to spend money on the northern expansion of the Empire. At the time of the second settlement of Rhodesia after the Matabele War, the question of the Rhodesian tariff was forced by Rhodes upon the Imperial Government. It has been a principle of the Empire that an autonomous Colony with constitutional government should have the power of imposing whatever import duty it pleases, even as against the Mother Country whose trade is free to all. The result has shown no great evil, though the theory was and is grotesque. But the system cannot be said to have helped the unity of the Empire, and to Rhodes it was preposterous. In fixing, therefore, the Rhodesian tariff he suggested to the Government that the *maximum* import duty ever to be charged in

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Rhodesia on British goods should be 12½ per cent., a figure roughly based upon the existing rates in the Cape Colony. To the English Government it seemed that profane hands were clawing at the holy vestments of Free Trade. They seemed to see a nightmare of differential and preferential duties flooding in, treaties denounced and most favored nations turned to hostile powers. The struggle was long, and arduous. But Rhodes was fighting for a live idea, Downing Street for a dead theory. Rhodes forced his point, and the maximum tariff for British imports into Rhodesia was embedded in the constitutional foundations of the State. The point seems small and incidental enough. But now consider the far-off meaning and value of it in Rhodes's mind. Consider also the faith and vision of the mind which looked so far and saw so clearly. He believed that in the United South Africa under the British flag, a body politic which in his thought was as sure of existence as his well-loved Table Mountain, the key State, the greatest, the richest and the most populous would be formed of the 750,000 miles of Rhodesia. There would be railways and probably a port; there would be the great central waterway of the Zambesi; there would be gold and coal, and all climates, all soils and illimitable space. The destiny of Rhodesia would *finally* control the destiny of South Africa. By fixing in the very constitutional foundation of Rhodesia a maximum tariff on British goods, he made the acceptance of that maximum by the other States an absolute condition of federation with Rhodesia. The new great Colony was bound and could not raise her rates. To federate with her, the other States must assimilate her system, and, if needs must for revenue's sake, the Federation must introduce differential rates on goods that were not British. But further yet. When the day of Imperial Federation should in due season dawn, the tariff question both inward and outward of the Federating States would be of all questions the most difficult and dangerous. Let us suppose that ere then Federated South Africa has accepted the Rhodesian maximum. Let us suppose too, as seems most probable, that the wealth and power of South Africa exceed those of any other Colony or group of Colonies. Is it not possible that the influence of South Africa might have upon the Federating States of the Empire the same influence as, by hypothesis, the influence of Rhodesia will have already had upon the Federating States of South Africa? And

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further yet again. The entire Empire once federated as a commercial whole, and commerce being more and more the cause and cure of modern wars, would there not be an inevitable, almost mechanical, attraction, acting automatically, to draw the other mighty family of Anglo-Saxons to the desire of closer and at last perfect union? And if to the desire, thence to the achievement? And in that crowning achievement lay, as Rhodes believed, the guarantee-paramount for the peace and happiness of the world. It may be a dream, but Rhodes's dreams had a trick of coming true. But in any case, consider the far foresight and imagination. As with all his work, it was not for himself or for his life-time that he built. He built for the *idea* of Anglo-Saxon expansion; but it was for the sake of human happiness.

And without the life and thought and work of Rhodes, would it have been conceivable for the Prime Minister of England to have said, as he did a few weeks ago:

> "We are at the commencement of a movement of causes, of opinions and of feelings, which will end in changes largely modifying the present distribution of power and allegiance. There is arising a state of things perfectly new to the world, a condition in which an Empire, depending not on any territorial contiguity, but merely upon the action of its naval defences, is slowly arising out of the sea, an Empire which has behind it the feelings and the affections of some of the most effective, some of the most vehement races in the world."

It is hardly too much to say that Rhodes's death first revealed him to the world at large. There was wide, vague knowledge of a great dim figure, spasmodic, convulsive, almost monstrous, moving about in worlds half realized, or in some colossal labor towards an unimagined birth. But the man was unknown. He wrought by thought and deed, and not by word of tongue or pen. His speeches are uttered thought, not ordered arguments or expositions. With him, as with Faust, "*Im Anfang war die That.*" After his death, Rhodes spoke directly to the world for perhaps the first time, and the world, listening, seemed to see for the first time what manner of man he was, and all the broken arcs of his life formed a full circle. In his will, the lifelong habit of applied Imagination reaches almost to applied Idealism. The old ideas of England, of the Empire, of the Anglo-Saxon race, form still the axioms of thought. But the new search is not the using of man's life, but how to make a man's life useful. And the method he de-

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liberately chooses is as imaginative as it is unexpected. Rhodes, the millionaire, the Empire-maker, the Pioneer, the Man of Action would breed and train a race like unto him to follow after in his steps. And he chooses not the modern side, not the technical college, not a business training and the school of the self-made man. He chooses rather that age-old University, that "home of lost causes and forsaken beliefs, and unpopular names and impossible loyalties." He chooses that the makers, the builders, the engineers, the strenuous men of the future should learn life where Oxford "whispers from her towers the last enchantments of the Middle Ages." To this he dedicates his millions, as to the last, the greatest and the most enduring way by which he may fulfil his service to his race, and to the race of men.

A dream again: but as before, it is a dream informed with practical and careful wisdom. He will have no pedant, he will have no loafer, he will have no weakling to walk in his steps. He will search and scrutinize through two vast Empires to find wit and strength and character to do his work. Crammed knowledge and negative virtues and unblamable mediocrity are not for his money. Let him tell his conception of human promise for himself:

"My desire being that the students who shall be elected to the scholarships shall not be merely book-worms, I direct that in the election of a student to a scholarship, regard shall be had to:

"1. His literary and scholastic attainments.

"2. His fondness of and success in manly outdoor sports, such as cricket, football and the like.

"3. His qualities of manhood, truth, courage, devotion to duty, sympathy for the protection of the weak, kindliness, unselfishness, and fellowship, and

"4. His exhibition during school days of moral force of character and of instincts to lead and to take an interest in his schoolmates, for those latter attributes will be likely in after-life to guide him to esteem the performance of public duties as his highest aim.

"As mere suggestions for the guidance of those who will have the choice of students for the scholarships, I record that (1) my ideal qualified student would combine these four qualifications in the proportion of 3-10 for the first, 2-10 for the second, 3-10 for the third, and 2-10 for the fourth qualification, so that according to my ideas if the maximum number of marks for any scholarship were 200, they would be apportioned as follows: 60 to each of the first and third qualifications, and 40 to each of the second and fourth; (2) the marks for the several qualifications would be awarded independently as follows: the marks for the first qualification by examination, for the second and third qualifications respectively by

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ballot by the fellow-students of the candidates, and for the fourth qualification by the head-master of the candidate's school."

Let us consider for a moment the double result of this immense experiment, the effect upon the Empire and upon the United States, and therefore, upon the world: the effect upon Oxford and upon England, the Mother Land of men and women who speak English. Rhodes tells us, as was his wont, with sheer simplicity, the motives of his bequest. He desired that all young men who spoke English should acquire "breadth of view, and instruction in life and manners." This for the human individual. On the political side, he desired that the same youth should have faith in the "Unity of the Empire" and "the union of the English-speaking people throughout the world!" He had had himself to storm the estranging walls of ignorance. He knew that a hair which separates two points of view is as strong as armored plate. Surely were there found, in every family however far, sons of one English mother, who had lived and learnt together amid the irrefragable memories of youth, there would arise in time an ever-present influence, not so much leavening and explanatory as dominant. To understand is peace. Rhodes wanted peace and the power to enforce it. To his idea the understanding of the Anglo-Saxon race meant the necessary peace of the world. Nor will the effect upon Oxford and upon England be inconsiderable, though perhaps less marked. England, by the nature of her position and her history, is more cosmopolitan and has a wider outlook than any given Colony or inland State of the Union. There are few Colonists or Americans, who own the means to travel, who do not know something of England and the English. And yet you may almost say that of all lands beyond the seas England knows least of her great Colonies and of the United States. Even what knowledge there is, is largely superficial and therefore dangerous, for the very community and kinship of English-speaking men and women make a nearer knowledge and sympathy of immeasurable value and importance.

Oxford has no need to change her tradition or her training. Rhodes, whose joyful pride it was to be a son of Oriel, expressed no such desire. Incidentally he speaks of the medical school, but that is hardly more than a suggestion. The professors are busy as to whether he intended the maintenance of the Classics. Probably he did, but the discussion is plainly vain and the question

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lies for his executors and the University to decide. The essential purpose is that, during the years of keenest impression and most moulding influences, young men speaking English and gathered from all the world will live in comradeship with one another and with the young men of the motherland, working, playing, thinking, talking, comparing, competing together, and at last understanding. Rhodes did not look for technical education or profound scholarship. He wanted character, association, tradition, a bond of race. He desired that, a generation hence and through all generations, there should exist in Alaska and Australia, in the Transvaal and Tasmania, in Newfoundland and Natal, a brotherhood of men who knew each other and had taught and learnt from each other, who knew England and had taught and learnt from England: who by their very being and by their unceasing and increasing common influence should drive, further even than his vision showed him, the paths that should lead to strength and union, to understanding and to peace. In a speech in January, 1894, Rhodes told a story. He said:

"Never hurry and hasten in anything. I remember in the impetuosity of my youth I was talking to a man advanced in years who was planting —what do you think? He was planting oak-trees, and I said to him very gently that the planting of oak-trees by a man advanced in years seemed to me rather imaginative. He seized the point at once, and said to me: 'You feel that I shall never enjoy the shade?' I said, 'Yes,' and he replied: 'I have the imagination, and I know what that shade will be, and at any rate no one will ever alter those lines. I have laid my trees on certain lines; I know that I cannot expect more than to see them beyond a shrub, but with me rest the conception and the shade and the glory.'"

I have tried to give some idea of Rhodes and Rhodes's achievement. No reader of this article can feel more profoundly than myself how insufficient is the result of my endeavor. The story of his life may be found in a hundred books. To seize the elements of his mind and nature and present them coherently to those who did not know him is, I find, too hard a task at least for contemporary pens. Great strength, great power, great courage, these he had to the full. For great mistakes, though few, he may be answerable. If epitaph were needed, perhaps the truest and the simplest would be that he did great and famous things in life and death, and that he did them not for himself.

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Agonistes indeed he was, and like him, "with plain heroic magnitude of mind" endowed supremely. In an age when kings and statesmen and the peoples yield willingly or not yet increasingly to the power of gold, not the lightest lesson that Rhodes bequeathed to the world was the right spending of money, alive or dead. The clogged and impotent discomfort of the common millionaire was as abhorrent to him as it was unintelligible. His personal needs would have been covered by a clerk's income. But for him there were no impracticable hours. Each day must hew and shape and set though it be but the smallest stone in the vast palace of his dream. From the first diamond of his digging to the last pompous pathos of the lonely grave, he taught men the right spending of money for ideas and for the happiness of men. The world was slow in seeing and he was but hardly and dimly understood. His own Empire that he loved knew him but in time to say farewell. But to no dead man of these generations have leave-takings been given as those upon the wild rocks of the Matoppos and beneath the domed mosaics of St. Paul's. At the same hour, in far-off Africa rough pioneers and black Matabele warriors were weeping for their dead father, and in the temple of the heart of the world the statesmen, the rich men, the plain men of England were sorrowing for England's greatest son.

If indeed the Happy Warrior be

> "the generous spirit who, when brought
> Among the tasks of real life, hath wrought
> Upon the tasks that pleased his boyish thought,"

then most assuredly was Rhodes a Happy Warrior. From the days of devout dreaming among the sun-washed spaces of the veldt to the last heroic endurance in the cabined breathless shanty at Muizemburg, he never wavered.

Rhodes labored, and his race has entered into his labors. Ideas do not die. So long as a great mind and an unselfish heart, so long as faith and courage, shall count among the nobler splendors of the Anglo-Saxons, so long will the memories and works and thoughts of Rhodes endure. And at the appointed season, among those that shall come after, will their renewing be seen.

HENRY CUST.

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DEFECTS AND ABUSES IN OUR POSTAL SYSTEM.—II.

BY HENRY A. CASTLE, AUDITOR FOR THE POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT.

THE line of demarcation between evils that are inherent in the postal service, as now administered, and those which are avoidable by the exercise of stern integrity in framing and executing the laws under which it exists, is not always plain and definite. Certain defects partake of characteristics of both classes and are not strictly assignable to either. But, as a rule, the distinction can be seen.

Which of the two is the more dangerous it is difficult to determine. Sometimes the necessary evils of which we are warned, and which we are thereby prepared to minimize, cause less uneasiness than those which are wholly inexcusable, but which we have no power, without impossible extraneous help, to reduce or remove.

We have discussed a few leading defects and abuses which seem within reach of remedial action either by law-making or executive authority, and we shall now consider others which appear to be more solidly grounded in the general structure, inherent, unavoidable, necessarily incident to the adoption under national auspices of a money-making and money-spending enterprise.

Some of these matters may seem trivial; but nothing is really trivial that impairs the efficiency or menaces the integrity of this potent factor in the maintenance of modern civilization. Still less can anything be deemed trivial which, even slightly and indirectly, helps to throw a sidelight on the mechanism of this vast and complicated structure, exposing the dangers which lie concealed within, and eloquently warning us against its undue expansion.

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One apparently unavoidable abuse of the postal service consists in the ever present temptation to postmasters to swell their emoluments by illegitimate increase either of their cancellations or stamp sales, through fictitious showings of business or false returns. In former years, the salaries of postmasters in all grades were based on the revenues of their offices, which were realized principally through the sale of postage-stamps. Up to a certain point, the so-called "commission" on sales amounted to forty, fifty or seventy-five per cent. thereof. Under this system, country postmasters could, and many did, pay for city purchases of provisions, clothing, etc., in stamps, thereby enormously increasing their own emoluments without performing any official duty in return therefor. This notorious abuse led to a change of system, under which fourth-class postmasters, or those receiving less than $1,000 each a year, were paid not on sales of stamps but on the "cancellations" thereof, the latter being supposed to represent the actual business done at the office—that is to say, the actual work performed.

If honestly carried out this plan would be perfect, but in unscrupulous hands it is subject to abuses which, in fact, are constantly occurring, many of them being detected and punished, others undoubtedly escaping detection. The knavish postmaster, to illustrate, holding a small office near a large city expands his income by arranging with heavy patrons of the city mail to send bags full of their catalogues, circulars or letters by express to his office, whence they are forwarded to their destination, the mailing postmaster securing thereby an unwarranted addition to his compensation. Other postmasters, still more flagrantly dishonest, systematically pad their returns, constantly exaggerating the amount of business transacted, complacently swearing to their reports quarter after quarter, and eagerly pocketing the proceeds of their perjury.

"Presidential" postmasters, that is to say such as receive over $1,000 a year, are paid on a different basis; their emoluments depend upon the income or revenue received, being, as stated, almost wholly derived from the sale of postage-stamps. Here comes in the same temptation which formerly assailed the small postmasters, to extend these sales beyond the legitimate demand for local consumption, spreading them by outside sales or large remittances as currency to other localities. There the imported

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stamps operate to reduce unjustly the revenues of offices where they are actually used in the payment of postage. This species of imposition is continually practised, much of it being done so cunningly as to escape detection. In other cases little concealment is attempted.

An extensive firm of seedsmen, located in a town of 10,000 inhabitants, has for several years annually contracted with a printing-house in a neighboring city to print, wrap and mail an edition of 800,000 catalogues, each requiring a four-cent stamp. These stamps are purchased at the post-office in the home town at a cost of $32,000, transmitted to the printing-house in the city, affixed to the mail, delivered at the city post-office and mailed therefrom. The result is that the revenues of the smaller post-office are improperly increased by $32,000, more than fifty per cent. of the total business of the office; while the larger office, which actually performs the immense labor incident to cancelling stamps, distributing and forwarding 800,000 pieces of mail, receives no compensation therefor, and practically suffers a loss of $32,000 by the transaction. The office gaining this large increase of revenue is by the Department rules entitled to six additional clerks and as many carriers, by reason of this sale of stamps for which it performed no service. The other office which does all the work receives no additional allowances therefor, because it derived no revenue therefrom.

The postmasters in several large cities have been convicted by the Department of unduly swelling their revenues by improper means, and have suffered the consequences. Last year the postmasters at two of the leading cities of our Central States claimed from the Department an increase of their salaries from $4,000 to $5,000 each, on a showing that the revenues of their respective offices during the preceding year had reached the $500,000 mark. Newspaper publications had unwittingly disclosed the existence of a spirited competition between these offices for weeks before the close of the period, each urging all patriotic citizens to patronize the local post-office lavishly in order that the great desideratum might be accomplished. Official investigation convinced the head of the Department that this competition had been carried on to an unjustifiable extent and that reprehensible methods had been employed to inflate the receipts. In both cases he refused to permit the increase of salary, although the $500,000 limit had

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been passed. The postmasters insisted that the law guaranteed them the increase and threatened to compel the Department to allow it, but the Postmaster-General piquantly retorted that the law also gave him authority to remove postmasters, and there the matter rested.

A perennial tribulation of the Department, of Congress and of the courts is the pressure for payment of old claims for services alleged to have been performed decades or generations ago but refused recognition at the time, and coming up persistently, in increasing volume and with augmented energy as the years go by. When the War of the Rebellion began, contractors for carrying mails in the South found their business interrupted, and most of them were entitled to pay for the fraction of a quarter previous thereto. The Confederate Government as a rule assumed these contracts and paid the amount previously earned from the United States. Fortunately, among the Confederate archives records were found which are now preserved in the Auditor's Office at Washington, showing what payments had been made. Notwithstanding this, hundreds of the ex-contractors, or their heirs and executors, annually present these ancient claims, secure the introduction of bills in Congress for "relief," which are only prevented from passage by a reference of the cases to the Auditor and an examination of the books.

About twenty-five years ago, an industrious Washington attorney conceived the idea that the Post Office Department had made an incorrect ruling as to salaries of fourth-class postmasters, which had reduced the compensation to which those worthy officials were entitled. This attorney organized a bureau for the prosecution of these claims, received contributions from many thousands of ex-postmasters or their representatives, prepared his schedules showing indebtedness to 50,000 ex-postmasters, aggregating $3,000,000 or more, and moved on Congress for an appropriation to pay the same. The movement has not yet been a success, but the 50,000 claims are still pending, and the industrious attorney or his successor solicits periodically additional contributions from the claimants, on the encouraging assurance that their "reimbursement" is now only a question of months or days.

In 1858, a citizen of the far West contracted with the Department to transport the mails by a difficult and dangerous route

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across the plains and mountains at the stipulated price of $130,000 a year for a weekly service. He fulfilled his contract for one year and received his pay. Then the service was cut down to twice a month, and the compensation fixed at $80,000 a year by mutual agreement. He continued on this schedule eleven months and received the contract price with $4,000 additional for extras. The contract was then annulled by the Department on the ground that its stipulations had not been complied with, and temporary service was secured through other parties. The ex-contractor, after several years' meditation, considered himself aggrieved, pushed his grievance vigorously, and finally in 1869 secured a pretended "readjustment" of his claims by the Postmaster-General, which resulted in the amazing decision that, though he had confessedly been paid all and more than his contract called for, and had forfeited it through his own inefficiency, the Government was indebted to him in the sum of $443,000. Congress at one time passed a bill appropriating this money, but a reconsideration was had before actual payment was made. The claimant died many years ago; the claim has passed into the hands of others, but it has not died. It is being solemnly considered by a Committee of the present Congress under unusually strong pressure for its belated recognition.

A necessary consequence of doing business under Government auspices will always be great confusion in the public mind as to profits on certain elements or features thereof. Notwithstanding their manifest absurdity, claims are still put forward on behalf of certain cities that their respective post-offices pay large "profits" to the Government. There can, of course, be no profit at any office while the aggregate transactions of the Department are conducted at a loss. Collections of revenue at city offices are not only drawn upon to pay the necessary expenditures of those offices, but also to pay for the transportation of mails to their destination and their delivery to addresses.

Because a large amount of mail happens to originate at the New York post-office, for example, entailing correspondingly large sales of stamps and collections for newspaper postage, it does not necessarily follow that the New York office pays any profit whatever. The box-office of a theatre would not be called "profitable" to the extent of the excess of its receipts over the salaries of the men employed to sell tickets. A railroad station

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would not be held to yield a "profit" simply because the amount of freight bills collected and passenger tickets sold there exceeded the salaries of its employees. A moment's reflection shows that the money received must be really earned outside the post-office, the box-office or the railroad station; and all expenses incident to the entire business must be paid before any profit can be realized. It may be stated parenthetically, however, in the case of the New York office, which has been specially put forward as exceptionally profitable, that the total revenues of that office would barely pay the loss on second-class mail matter originating there. New York furnishes more than twenty-five per cent. of the whole second-class mail of the country, or about 100,000,000 pounds per annum. As the loss on this mail is seven cents a pound, the deficit in that item is approximately $7,000,000 a year, while the so-called "net revenues" of the office were $6,549,764 12.

One glaring evil incident to the present system and requiring early attention is the use of postage as currency for remittances. This use or abuse was not contemplated when stamps were authorized for the prepayment of postage, which is their only legitimate function. Postal regulations prohibit the exchange of one denomination for another, which would not be the case if they were to be used as currency. But they are now constantly employed in making remittances, and their sale in large or small quantities is a flourishing industry in all cities. A market is thus created for stamps obtained by burglars from rifled post-offices; their prompt conversion into cash is assured and the chances for detection are greatly reduced. Much of this loss could be avoided if the temptation to post-office robberies were minimized by a law restricting the private sale of postage-stamps to amounts not exceeding one dollar. The enterprising burglar knows that post-offices always carry a liberal stock of stamps, so that his labors are sure to be rewarded even if the actual cash found should prove to be of small amount. If he could not so readily dispose of his plundered assets, he might be led to seek more praiseworthy outlets for his energy.

The evil of the use of stamps as currency for remittances has other injurious effects and elements of loss. Salaries of post-masters and their allowances for help are based on the revenues of their respective offices. The receipts of many offices are unduly reduced by the sale at a discount within their jurisdictions

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of postage-stamps which have been received through the mail as currency in direct opposition to the law's intent, or which are the result of thefts and burglaries. Many large mail-order houses receive from customers thousands of dollars' worth of stamps in excess of requirements for the prepayment of postage on their own mail. These stamps are sold at a discount of five to fifteen per cent. and thus reduce the revenues of the offices where they are used but not purchased, not only affecting the salaries of postmasters, but also those of clerks and carriers who perform the work of collecting and forwarding mail for which their office receives no revenue.

It is claimed on behalf of those who find a convenience in the use of stamps as currency that, if this practice is to be discouraged or abolished, the Government should furnish some acceptable substitute. Accordingly, a measure is now pending in Congress embodying what is known as the "post check" system, which is intended to furnish something more simple and accessible than money orders for ready use in making small remittances. It provides that $75,000,000 in United States notes of larger denominations than ten dollars shall be replaced with an equal amount in fractional notes in denominations of 5 to 50 cents, and regular notes of one, two and five dollars. The dimensions of the fractional notes will be uniformly four inches long by two and a fourth inches wide; the others of present standard dimensions.

To adapt these notes to their purpose it is provided that the words "payable to bearer on demand" shall be eliminated, and the words "payable to the payee named herein or order of said payee; payable to bearer if the spaces are not filled," be substituted. These notes will thus pass from hand to hand as currency until the blank space is filled. Thereafter they are payable only to the payee or order; they can be redeemed at any money-order office or national bank, and they will not again be used as a circulating medium. They will find their way by legal channels to the United States Treasury, where they will be handled and destroyed as mutilated currency.

This plan seems on its face to be practicable, to accomplish several desirable results simultaneously and to afford accommodation to the entire public at a minimum of labor and expense. There is no obvious reason why the denominations should not extend to ten or twenty dollars. The saving that would be effected

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by treating the paid and cancelled notes as mutilated currency instead of vouchers; the intricate reports and interminable columns of figures that would be abolished; the simplicity of accounting and certainty of correct adjustments that would supersede present complications and uncertainties, can only be appreciated by those familiar with the crude methods employed in the Auditor's office for bringing forty millions of money orders annually into dubiously accurate relations with the thirty thousand postmasters who issued and paid them.

That postal facilities have been used in the past and are now being used, in spite of all precautions and all reforms heretofore inaugurated, for the promotion of innumerable frauds and swindles, is too notorious to admit of denial or even to excite comment. The war against lottery schemes, waged vigorously for twenty years by the Department, has been measurably successful in excluding that gigantic swindle from the mails. Equally vigorous but less effective campaigns have been made against green goods games and other extensive fraudulent enterprises. But frauds of various kinds, great and small, are yet carried on through this medium to an alarming extent. They are inaugurated by all classes and denominations of tradesmen, by publishers of doubtful periodicals, by cigar and tobacco dealers, compounders of quack medicines, organizers of bogus mining companies, and inventors of financial pitfalls *ad infinitum*.

The law, which authorizes the Department on satisfactory evidence to exclude these concerns from the use of the mails, is so arbitrary that it must be enforced with great caution, and impartiality as well as firmness must be exercised if the law is to be executed without hardship or injustice. Many persons thoughtlessly adopt experiments to stimulate their private business and unexpectedly find themselves within the domain of fraud. In such cases they are dealt with as leniently as possible. But in other cases, where the promoters have adopted schemes with the manifest intent of obtaining money or property on false representations, they are not only put out of the mails by the issue of "fraud orders," but are also handed over to United States Attorneys for prosecution under the penal statutes. Vigilant as the Department is, it cannot possibly reach all these illegitimate enterprises in time to prevent great loss to the unwary from inconsiderate investments in bond enterprises, tontine schemes,

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certifying coupons, or debentures on the instalment plan, which promise enormous returns impossible of realization on any reliable financial basis.

If reports are true, the cupidity of postmasters is now undergoing the test of a clever device in the old familiar green goods line, originated in New York and worked from Jersey City to Chicago. The dupes are second, third and fourth class postmasters who dare not complain to the authorities, which is a feature of the subtle ingenuity of the plan. It is stated that within six months more than a thousand postmasters have been swindled out of sums ranging from $250 to $1,000 each. Only postmasters are invited to participate, and they are offered counterfeit stamps manufactured from "the undestroyed plates of the Government—undistinguishable from the genuine." When the rendezvous is reached, all the old-fashioned bunco games of substitution, etc., which have been repeated in green goods enterprises for a generation, are practised, and the credulous postmaster retires from the scene a heavy loser, with no one to pity him should he dare make known the details of his discomfiture. It is a sad commentary on the integrity of public officials that so many have been tempted by this rascally bait.

A leading source of danger lies in the multitude of defects inherent in the widely ramified accounting system made necessary by this colossal postal enterprise. Few stop to consider into what the accounting feature of such an institution has already developed, much less to imagine the tremendous proportions to which it must expand should a tithe of the proposed new elements be added. By necessity, this accounting must all be concentrated in Washington. Every money-order office in the United States issues orders on every other office; before the accounts of any office can be settled, these orders must be concentrated as vouchers in one central bureau, where they are checked against the accounts of both the issuing and paying postmasters, each being necessarily handled several times before that essential function can be accomplished.

This bureau of concentration and checking is the Office of the Auditor for the Post Office Department. All other branches of the postal service require a similar concentration of responsibility; reports must be received, carefully examined, audited, verified as to additions, posted and strictly correct accounts kept with every

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agent of the vastly ramified system, including 76,000 postmasters, many thousands of contractors, special agents, inspectors, etc. Millions of vouchers must be handled and examined; interminable columns of figures must be footed up; unceasing vigilance must be exercised to prevent imposition, check embezzlements and defalcations, to collect unpaid balances and, generally, to exercise financial scrutiny over all the enormous transactions of the Department. No scientific system of keeping these accounts has ever been devised; methods have been evolved from the pressure of necessity as new branches have been added; work has been done as best it could with inadequate means, insufficient force, and at times crude ideas of what the protection of the public interests requires. Those best acquainted with the process see its manifold defects most clearly and deprecate most sincerely the engraftment of untried excrescences which will still further elaborate and complicate the menacing attributes.

Notwithstanding the exorbitant rates paid to railroads for transporting mail, there is good reason to fear, from the occasional detection of successful attempts in that direction, that extensive frauds are perpetrated, especially by some of the smaller corporations in the quadrennial weighings on which the advance estimate of tonnage to be carried by the roads for the coming four years is based. Unscrupulous managers or subordinates have been known to arrange for large additional bulk and weight of mail matter, such as public documents, old newspapers and the like, to be transported to and fro over their lines during the thirty days devoted to weighings, thereby increasing the reported volume from 25 to 100 per cent., and enlarging the compensation accordingly during the entire quadrennial period ensuing. The utmost watchfulness of the Department is unable to prevent this fraud entirely. It is a temptation constantly presented to the railroads, and detected often enough to justify a belief that large numbers of similar attempts are undetected. How much of the $36,000,000 paid annually to railroads for carrying mail is represented by this fraudulent inflation of weights, can only be a matter of the blindest and wildest conjecture.

The fallacy of calling our postal system self-sustaining, even if on the face of the books and on its present foundation it should fail to show a deficit at the close of some fiscal year, does not occur to casual observers but is recognized by all who study the

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subject. A railway company doing a business of nearly $1,000,000,000 a year, which was required to pay no interest on bonds or dividends on stock would be a financial phenomenon. It is conceivable that the mail service might be so managed by a corporation as to yield satisfactory results and pay a small dividend, provided it performed no gratuitous services for the government as a condition of its existence. As now managed, the Post Office Department has no "plant" whatever. All it owns in the way of personal property is mail bags, mail locks, letter boxes, carriers' satchels, and a few similar inconsequential items of equipment. Even in public buildings it is the tenant of the Treasury Department.

Here is disclosed a very large expenditure which never figures in computing a postal surplus or deficit. In all cities the United States owns imposing structures, where the local post-offices and other branches of the Department have their capacious and luxurious homes without cost to the postal revenues. The buildings are constructed and paid for by appropriations expended under the direction of the Treasury Department, no part of which is charged against postal revenues. No rentals are ever collected or computed. More than this, all expenditures for heating, lighting, repairs, janitor service, and supplies, are paid for from other appropriations. The aggregate of all these items, including a fair rental for quarters occupied, would amount to several millions of dollars annually, none of which would be expended or needed if there were no mail service. In addition to this should be mentioned the cost of the Post Office Department at Washington and of the Auditor's office, embracing salaries of more than a thousand officials and employees, which are paid from appropriations for what is termed the legislative, executive and judicial service, and never appear in postal estimates, accounts or balances.

Five million dollars a year would be a small allowance for the undebited expenditures of the Post Office Department, along these lines.

An evil necessarily incident to business ventures conducted under Government auspices is the difficulty with which money due from defaulting and embezzling postmasters, failing contractors, and other delinquents is collected. Every contractor, every postmaster and many subordinate employees give bonds which are supposed to secure the Department against loss through their mis-

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conduct or inefficiency. But when a loss occurs the trouble begins. The delinquent himself is seldom able to make good the deficit, and no bondsman ever signs an obligation with the expectation of being called upon to pay it. When the call comes he naturally feels that a rich nation better than himself can afford to lose the amount, and he instinctively resorts to every possible means of evading payment. It is one duty of the Auditor's Office to prosecute suits against bondsmen in these cases, and obstacles in the way of recovery are specially disclosed to that official. Juries take advantage of every conceivable excuse to relieve the bondsmen of a postmaster, contractor or other delinquent, from his legal obligation. Only the most specific instructions of a judge will, as a rule, secure reimbursement for money which the Government has actually lost through the malfeasance of its agent, and which every dictate of common honesty and political purity demands should be reimbursed by those who voluntarily assume the risk.

Even some judges of United States courts before whom these cases are tried seem sublimely indifferent to the interests of the Government, and strangely merciful toward the sureties of inexcusable delinquents. In a Western district the judge ruled that the Department is bound by an alleged settlement made by an Inspector on the spot at the time a post-office defalcation was discovered, in face of the fact that the law expressly vests the sole authority to settle postmasters' accounts in the Auditor, and of the further fact that the Inspector could know nothing of the state of the accounts except from the postmaster's own books, which are presumably falsified in such cases as an integral part of the general misdemeanor. Another Western judge held a certificate defective and dismissed an important case because the title of the Auditor was different from that used in statutes twenty or twenty-five years old, although the designation of the office had been changed by law more than fifteen years before and was correctly given under existing statutes. An Eastern judge, overruled by a higher court on a legal question connected with the responsibility of a postmaster who had flagrantly violated his instructions, causing a loss of about $1,500 of public funds, proclaimed from the bench that it was an "outrage" for the Washington authorities to insist on collecting from the innocent bondsmen of the delinquent.

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In spite of leniency of juries and indifference of courts many judgments are obtained against bondsmen by the zealous representatives of the Department of Justice throughout the country. Then, when all else has failed, complaisant Congressmen are readily induced to present bills for the relief of their unfortunate constituents, and if these bills are pressed with sufficient energy and persistency, they are usually passed; the relief is granted; the indebtedness is wiped out, and the tax-paying proprietors of this vast business concern are finally left to suffer the loss occasioned by the faithlessness of their recreant servants.

Upon the whole, then, we have assimilated into our governmental structure an institution wearing all the aspects, containing all the defects, subject to all the abuses of a private or corporate enterprise, and we are, as a body politic, more poorly equipped for dealing with those evils than would be a corporation animated solely by business instincts and capable of acting strictly on business principles.

Our consolation and our hope lie in the fact that the average man is always more reliable than his opportunities and temptations to go wrong give us any right to expect; that the average public official is of higher grade morally and intellectually than our hap-hazard methods of appointment through political influence entitle us to anticipate; that the average subordinate employee—upon whom, after all, the burden and responsibility rest—is, under our present merit system of selection, training and retention, immeasurably superior to the type that formerly was evolved by the "spoils" policy.

Many of these evils are of long standing, but in spite of them the American postal service has attained its present exalted standard of efficiency and usefulness. A determined, intelligent public opinion, aware of the existence of these defects, alive to their perils, ever alert to expose and thwart them, must be relied on in the future, even more implicitly than in the past, to guard jealously this all-powerful instrumentality of enlightened progress and Christian civilization.

HENRY A. CASTLE.

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WHY IS AN ISTHMIAN CANAL NOT BUILT?

BY LEWIS M. HAUPT, FORMERLY MEMBER OF THE NICARAGUA AND ISTHMIAN CANAL COMMISSIONS.

THE American people are demanding an answer to this question, which has been pending for over four centuries and which, ever since the promulgation of the Monroe doctrine in 1823, has been a diplomatic and political football. International jealousies, trade competitions, vested interests, partisan politics, selfish aggrandizement, rival concessionnaires, wilful misrepresentation and venal influences have all been allied to defeat the ends of progress and delay the consummation of one of the world's greatest opportunities.

South America, lying as it does entirely east of the meridian of Florida, constitutes the greatest barrier to commerce on the face of the globe, and its circumnavigation necessitates an annual waste in ocean transportation of not less than $200,000,000, for which there is no equivalent return—a sum more than sufficient to build an isthmian canal each year; and yet action has been deferred these many years, for political purposes or lest it might be charged that the best route had not been selected or the best bargain secured.

The multitudinous phases of this question cannot be considered in a brief paper. The attempts of the Great Powers to secure control of the world's highways and particularly of the "Key to the Pacific," and their successive failures; the forcible seizures of its termini during the Mexican War, which almost involved the United States in a third contest with Great Britain; the diplomacy which debarred this country from taking an actual initiative as a nation for half a century; the opening of other routes in competition, which antagonized the concessions secured by private enterprise; the herculean yet scandalous efforts made by foreign pro-

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moters to secure exclusive control of the isthmian transit, and many other features of the question must necessarily be ignored for lack of space.

Having no other interest than that of aiding in advancing civilization by the introduction of great possible economies in the distribution of the world's products, and having had the benefit of some five years of personal contact with all the conditions of this problem, the writer still adheres to the conclusion reached in both the preliminary and the final reports of the Isthmian Canal Commission, of which he was a member, that "the most practicable and feasible route" for an isthmian canal, to be "under the control, management, and ownership of the United States," is that known as the Nicaragua route, although in the supplemental report the Commission found in favor of Panama. So firm is he in this conviction that he has frequently stated the measure of the superiority of this route to be so great that, even if the Panama route, works and concessions could be secured gratis, it would be wiser to decline them and adhere to the more northern transit. On the question of signing the supplemental report, the writer was confronted by the argument that if a divided opinion were presented to Congress the opposition to an Isthmian Canal was so influential as to be able to defeat legislation entirely on that ground. Being unwilling to be made the sole cause of obstruction to the building of any canal, even though it might not be the best practicable, he consented to sign the report, with the following statement of his reasons for so doing entered upon the minutes:

"He still believed that the Nicaragua Route was the better of the two, but that the scope of the investigation had expanded beyond the mere question as to which route had the superior advantages, in view of the political situation and the great probability, if not certainty, of a divided report being used by the opponents of any canal to defeat legislation. It was a question, therefore, of Panama or nothing, and, as he believed firmly in the necessity of an isthmian waterway for the general good, he had concluded that his duty to his country would be best fulfilled by waiving his objections and signing the report, with the understanding that this statement of his reasons be entered upon the minutes."

As the choice of routes is the vital issue at present, and is being emphasized by the interests which are allied against an American canal, it will suffice to confine attention to some of the physical and engineering facts which bear directly on this question.

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The contest over routes has eliminated from consideration all but those of Panama and Nicaragua.

It has been persistently claimed that Panama has good harbors while Nicaragua has none, and that it would be very difficult if not impossible to create harbors in Nicaragua; that the level of Lake Nicaragua is subsiding rapidly; that the northern route is much longer; that neither of them would be available for sailing craft because the Suez Canal is not; that the recent eruptions in the Windward Islands have sounded the death knell of the Lake Route; that its climatic conditions are unfavorable as compared with those at Panama; that the cost of construction, operation and maintenance would be much greater for Nicaragua; that the traffic would not justify the expense and the tolls would be prohibitive; that a railroad, under private management, would afford greater facilities; that Panama is exempt from earthquakes, and is already well known; that the canal there is partially constructed, and that this route contains no doubtful engineering problems. These and many other considerations, real and imaginary, have been scattered broadcast as arguments against the inauguration of a work so necessary for the welfare of the world at large. They are stated by pseudo-scientists, who generalize from special cases and insufficient and imaginary data.

The factors which should have greatest weight in the choice of routes are those most intimately connected with the economics of transporation—such as the volume and destination of the traffic, which is in turn a function of the distribution of population; the strategic position of the waterway; the physical and engineering advantages for all classes of vessels; the possibilities of local development, regulation, control, sanitation and police, and the relative freedom from seismic influences.

In all these particulars the writer finds that the Nicaragua Route has the advantage, for the northern hemisphere contains about 88 per cent. of the population of the globe, and the shortest route between the populous centres of the North Temperate Zone lies along the circles of latitude. The nearer, therefore, the trade routes approach these lines, the greater will be the economy.

The problem is not merely concerned with the cost of traversing the isthmus from sea to sea, but with the total cost of the movement from port to port; hence, it is a delusion to assert that because the Panama route is but 49 miles long and the Nicaragua is

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183, the former is the better, since that statement omits entirely the greater length on the sea route by Panama for about three-quarters of the traffic, the presence of the lake and river which compose more than half of the waterway through Nicaragua, and the still more important fact that the general direction of this route lies along the most direct line while at Panama it is almost at right angles thereto. Moreover, there is the insuperable meteorological disadvantage attaching to the Panama route, due to position, since the Southern route lies in the region of equatorial calms which debar sailing vessels from access to Panama, without great expense for towage, while the northern location lies in the region of the trade winds, which also contribute greatly to the salubrity and comfort of this transit-way. To meet the objection due to the "doldrums" in Panama Bay, it is urged that the sailing vessel is doomed to be superseded by steamers. The present outlook would not seem to justify such a conclusion, since more than half of our registered tonnage is sail, and the tendency is strongly towards larger schooner-rigged craft. The great cargo capacity and economy of the six-masted and seven-masted vessels of this class, as well as their relative immunity from danger of fire, make them the cheapest known instrument of transportation, and this fact insures their continued existence and guarantees them a patronage by all freights not demanding great speed. In a fair wind, however, they readily hold their own with the twelve-knot steamer, and they carry a larger cargo for a given displacement and with less than half the crew.

The rapid increase in the size of fore and aft rigged vessels is shown by the trebling of their net tonnage during the decade ending in 1894, and its doubling since that date. To ignore the sailing vessel as a factor in interoceanic transit would be a serious discrimination against one of our greatest economic possibilities, and would greatly retard the restoration of our merchant marine.

The difficulties of navigating the Bay of Panama are such that during the past year no sailing vessels entered or cleared there, and the detentions are so notorious that they would not be mentioned here but for the purpose of inviting attention to the fact that the obstacles to the transit of the isthmus are not limited to *terra firma*, but extend through and beyond the bay region, even to the Galapagos Islands on the Equator. It has been officially reported that, in rare instances, sailing vessels have been longer in

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beating out of the bay than is required to make the entire trip from New York to San Francisco by Cape Horn. The use of this route by sail would, therefore, be attended by a charge for towage a long distance to sea at certain seasons of the year, for which no estimate has been made in calculating the cost of operations.

Concerning the matter of harbors, upon which much stress has been laid, it is important to note that the estimates submitted by the Commission give the cost of securing equally good and capacious harbors as being $6,549,777 less on the Nicaraguan route than on the Panama; and in the judgment of the writer the problem at Greytown is one of great simplicity because of the prevailing direction and constancy of the forces forming the bars. Here the north-east trade winds, striking the salient cape, drive the waves obliquely to the westward and transport about 600,000 cubic yards of sand every year to the bight of the bay beyond. This movement may be readily intercepted and the drift impounded by a single jetty extending to deep water, and a channel may be dredged in its lee, as was done by the Maritime Canal Company after the Panama failure.

The Panama Railroad Company has recently completed a landing pier at La Boca, costing $2,200,000, which is accessible only at high tide, through a channel dredged for three miles into the bay, so that vessels would be obliged to wait for high tide to enter and leave the proposed canal. No allowance is made for this delay in the comparison of the times required to navigate the routes, as should have been done. At Colon, on the Atlantic terminus, the piers are so directly exposed to the "northers" that during such storms the vessels are obliged to run to sea, and the last Commission estimated that a suitable entrance and harbor at this end of the line would cost $8,057,707.

Prior to the construction of the new pier at La Boca, all the freight transported across the isthmus was lightered out to vessels anchored over three miles from shore, at a cost of about $1.50 per ton, with additional charges for port dues and storage.

The estimated cost of creating harbors on the Panama route is $10,257,707, as compared with $3,707,930 for Nicaragua; and the difference is the measure of the physical advantages in favor of the latter route in the single matter of its harbor facilities.

Moreover, it has been objected that the great regulating Lake of Nicaragua is subsiding at a rapid rate, and fears are expressed

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lest it disappear entirely from the face of the earth. This agitation is based upon some loose and erroneous statements of elevations, and on rainfall data recorded at a single point in the dry region on the west side of the lake. From these meagre data it is asserted that

"Lake Nicaragua has undergone marked shrinkage during the past 25 or 50 years. The shrinkage is a progressive one, and there are no known conditions by which the loss incurred can be made good. The assumption is well founded that the earlier measurements of the altitude of the lake surface, made by Galisteo and Bailey, indicating an abasement of the waters by 15 to 20 feet, were accurate. . . . A region subject to the changes which have been indicated would offer serious obstacles to the construction of a canal of the magnitude of the one proposed or to its permanency after completion."

This conclusion is based upon such assumptions as these:

"Not knowing the amount of outflow through the San Juan River for the different years from 1880 to 1898, but assuming it, for a simple convenience of measure, to be not more than one-half the amount, 84 inches, that was found for the year 1898, and taking the annual evaporation at 55 inches, we arrive at the following interesting analysis of the table of rainfall," showing "a loss of 363 inches as against a gain of 114 inches, or a net loss of 249 inches (20 feet 9 inches)."

In short, in these 19 years the lake is stated to have subsided nearly 21 feet. At this rate it should have fallen 55 feet 3 inches since 1851. Had this author of the "Defence of the Panama Route" examined the Report of Col. O. W. Childs, which is a well recognized and accurate survey of the Nicaraguan route made for Mr. Vanderbilt, in 1851, he would have found the altitude of the lake at high level to be 108 feet above the Atlantic Ocean, which elevation is confirmed by all the subsequent surveys, and especially by the line of precise levels run by the Nicaragua Canal Commission in 1898, as its present height.

Had the lake subsided at the rate above stated, it would long since have fallen below the bed of the outlet and have ceased to discharge into the sea. The Rio San Juan would have become a dry ravine, and the canal projects, whether great or small, would have been desiccated.

Such unguarded and erroneous statements have done much to retard the development of the general welfare of our country and have no justification in fact upon which to rest.

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The cost, character and distribution of the work are also matters of moment in the choice of a route; and on these points it may suffice to state that, although the cube of excavation at Nicaragua is about 230 million cubic yards, as compared with 100 million remaining to be excavated at Panama, the work is so well distributed that, it is estimated by the Commission, it can be completed in two years less time than at Panama. Of this large amount, sixty per cent. consists of material which can be removed by dredging, the cheapest kind of mechanical work not sensibly affected by rains. Taking the average unit prices for which materials have been removed by hand in the tropics, the Nicaragua Canal should be built for $153,746,323, if handled by a syndicate under ordinarily good management and conditions.

But the most important of all is the question of constructing a safe dam, which is the vital element in the execution of either project. The borings made by the Isthmian Canal Commission at Bohio on the Panama line revealed a continuous rock foundation only at an unprecedented depth below sea level; and, in a recent discussion of this subject, a member of the Commission has stated that this dam "involves novel and untried features, and few engineers, even among those who feel that they can construct it, would be ready to say in advance how the work could be done. The difficulties taken in connection with the climate and other surroundings are enormous."

The Nicaragua Route, on the contrary, presents no exceptionally difficult problems, and it has been exploited more fully than is usual in works of this character. It has many advantages which must necessarily be omitted from this limited review.

The character and amount of the tonnage, as well as its influence on railroad rates and traffic, are closely related to the question as to why the canal is not an accomplished fact, but they apply equally to both routes. They cannot be analyzed here; but economists generally concede that the effect of the canal will be to colonize remote sections, distribute low-grade, raw materials which cannot now be moved overland, stimulate manufactures and develop a much larger movement of high class freight for the railroads, which will far more than compensate for the slight diversion which may take place in their overland traffic.

The real obstacle to the construction of the canal, however, is located in the Capitol at Washington, where the subject has been

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discussed for generations. The current outlook indicates that the political clouds are not yet dissipated, and the legislation is still so framed as to make this great issue a factor in the next political campaign. It is believed that the House will not recede from its overwhelming majority of over 300 in favor of the "Hepburn Bill," and would not accept as a compromise measure the "Spooner Amendment" in case it, or its equivalent, should be passed by the Senate, in which event there will be another deadlock, with the probability of the failure of any relief measures and the lapsing of the protocols which have been executed with the Nicaraguan and Costa Rican Republics.

Representative Mann, of Illinois, recently remarked:

"It is a question of canal or no canal. If the Senate should adopt the Spooner substitute, the House, which passed the Hepburn bill with only two dissenting votes, would not yield. It is a desperate fight between legislation and no legislation, and I do not think that the Senate appreciates the situation. Nicaragua means a certainty of completion. Panama means uncertainty of beginning. Nicaragua means a clear title, freedom from scandal. Panama means legal and diplomatic clouds, and the possibility of almost endless scandal."

The vote of the House may be regarded as a fair expression of the desire and conviction of its constituency, and it is believed that the policy of further procrastination would be an irreparable evil inflicted upon the industries and commercial interests of the whole country. The responsibility for failure, if so it be, must necessarily be assumed by Congress, which alone has jurisdiction and which is provided with a plethora of material facts for its information.

It would appear, then, that in the interests of humanity, civilization, economy, international intercourse, national development, or even of local self interest, this country owes it to its citizens, as well as to the world, to inaugurate this great undertaking, since it has virtually notified all foreign nations of its purpose to prevent any intervention on their part on this continent. The work should be commenced under the present administration, when all conditions appear so favorable.

LEWIS M. HAUPT.

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THE PUBLIC DEBT OF PRUSSIA.

BY DR. ADOLPH WAGNER, PROFESSOR OF POLITICAL ECONOMY IN BERLIN UNIVERSITY.

THE kingdom of Prussia, as at present constituted, forms the most important part of the German Empire, of whose territory it embraces nearly two-thirds and, roughly speaking, three-fifths of the population.

The Prussian State Debt as it stands to-day has been incurred almost exclusively for the State railways, either in their construction or in the purchase of private lines; but the net proceeds of these railways not only entirely cover the exigencies of the debt, both as to interest and sinking fund, but yield a very considerable surplus, which serves instead of taxation to cover other State expenses. Thus Prussia has, strictly speaking, no State Debt, but mainly a State Railway Debt which is covered by the earnings of the railways themselves. This eminently satisfactory state of affairs dates from the end of the seventies, when Prussia began to extend her then inconsiderable State Railway System by the purchase of all the important private lines.

The earlier history of the Prussian State Debt runs parallel with that of the political development of the country.

When, at the end of the Napoleonic wars, in 1820 affairs came to be regulated the Prussian State Debt was found to have increased fourfold. The King thereupon declared the State Debt account finally closed; should further loans become necessary they would only be raised, he promised, with the consent and co-operation of the future representative Parliament. As the institution of this Parliament was not effected either under Frederick William III. or Frederick William IV., fresh loans could not be raised during their reigns, nor was it necessary under the then prevailing financial and political circumstances. But, between

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1830 and 1840, the question of railway construction came up, and in Bavaria, Saxony, Hanover, Würtemberg, Baden, etc., the building of railways soon began to be carried out at the expense of the State. Prussia could not do this without raising loans, and therein lies the chief reason why so many of the Prussian lines were originally in private hands. The sum total of the Debt reduced itself during this period by the action of sinking funds, and the interest was cut down by conversions and the lowering of the rate from 5 to 3½ per cent. The chief part of the Debt consisted in the 3 per cent. State obligations of 1842, which had a very heavy sinking fund that has operated almost till the present day. Issued originally for 501,000,000 marks, these obligations have remained a special category of the State Debt, and were not included in the later consolidations. In 1899, there was still a residue of 6,250,000 marks, which was paid off on January 1st, 1900. Thus, this Debt, the largest item of the old War Debt, has been wiped out.

The course of political events from 1848 onwards, combined with the unfavorable financial situation and the construction of the State Railways, necessitated an increase of the State Debt by loans, which could only be obtained at a much higher rate of interest. The events of 1864 and 1866 led still further in this direction. On the annexation of Schleswig-Holstein, part of the Danish National Debt (65,250,000 marks) had to be taken over by Prussia, as were the State Debts of the other territories annexed by Prussia at that period.

By far the greater part of these Debts, however, had been incurred for the construction of the respective State Railways; consequently, as these railways now came into Prussia's possession and were in many cases yielding excellent returns, this addition to her State Debt in no wise increased her financial burden.

Under the old régime in Prussia, the Debt was divided into innumerable separate categories, each fresh loan since 1848 forming a distinct one by itself (the majority at 4½, some at 4, some at 5 per cent.) and subject to different conditions as to their repayment. Besides this, there were remnants of old Provincial Debts, chiefly from the Napoleonic wars, which had been taken over by the State, each again under a separate heading, not to mention shares and debentures of the various private railways acquired by the Government and now treated as State Debts. This naturally

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led to a most confusing diversity of categories, besides which most of the loans had, by contract and statutory regulation, heavy sinking funds. Thus, about 1870, the "General State Debt" of Prussia and its additions since 1866 had, on its capital sum (minus the floating debt) of 1,046,520,000 marks, a steadily increasing yearly sinking fund of 20,760,000 marks. To this were now added the Debts of the new Provinces, which were subdivided into numerous groups, each subservient to the regulations of its own particular State and having different rates of interest and sinking funds; for, up till then, all German Government Debts, more especially those incurred for the new railways, were invariably charged with a definite sinking fund.

The desire to bring all these innumerable debts under one heading and the financial advisability of reducing the heavy sinking fund which the constant increase of the Debt by fresh loans rendered purposeless, led in 1869 to the adoption of Camphausen's scheme of conversion into the "Consolidated Rentes Debt." The Government offered the holders to convert the Bonds of a number of older loans with sinking funds (seventeen in all, with a yet undischarged capital of 670,200,000 marks) into new obligations of a uniform Consolidated Loan, without sinking fund, at 4½ per cent., granting at the same time small premiums on conversion. The new Debt was not redeemable by the Government before 1885. The measure was on the whole successful, and though its complete accomplishment was somewhat retarded by the war of 1870, it was carried through afterwards all the more easily owing to the rapid improvement in State credit and the rise of the rate of interest, and to the fact that the older loans awaiting conversion were threatened with notice of re-payment or reduction of interest through the French War Indemnity now at the disposal of the Government, whereas the new Consolidated Loans could neither be redeemed nor the rate reduced before 1885. Down to August, 1870, old loans to the amount of 338,280,000 marks had been converted, and later on some 105,000,000 more—443,280,000 marks in all. By a new enactment on December 20th, 1871, however, the right of conversion was to terminate on January 15th, 1872, this being more advantageous to the Government.

The victorious course of the war and the founding of the Empire had brought Prussia an immense increase in funds. On the settlement of accounts between Prussia and the Empire, the former re-

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ceived, among other sums, 90,000,000 marks for the transfer of her State Reserve; 72,000,000 marks in "*Reichscassenscheine*" for the redemption of the old Prussian paper money, which only amounted to 60,390,000 marks; and an indemnity of 29,720,000 marks for the transfer of the Bank of Prussia to the Empire and its re-creation as the Imperial Bank of Germany. Besides this, Prussia, as a member of the North German Confederation, received various sums for her war costs and for her private State expenses (361,910,000 marks) out of the French War Indemnity. Thus, Prussia was in a position to spend largely without raising fresh loans even for the railways, and to re-pay a portion of her out-standing debts. In this manner, the State Debt was reduced after the war, while the improved State credit, the rise in the rate of exchange, and the fall in the rate of interest facilitated fresh conversions, a reduction of interest and the raising of new loans at lower rates.

The minimum point of the Debt—921,000,000 marks including 30,000,000 in Treasury Bonds, but exclusive of the capital sum of 1,320,000 marks for the payment of special annuities—was touched at the end of 1875. After that, it began to rise again, but chiefly for productive purposes, namely the State Railways—the purchase of the most important lines from the great companies. These were bought up in rapid succession between 1879 and 1884, the purchases continuing as called for up to the present day. At the same time, the Railway System was extended and thoroughly equipped at enormous expenditure.

Besides the loans for this purpose, smaller additions to the State Debt for other necessary improvements, or for covering a deficit here and there in the Budget, were inevitable. The present high figure of the Prussian State Debt is largely the result of former conditions, but is financially completely justified by the excellent returns yielded by the railways for which the debts were incurred.

The purchase of the great private lines was effected at a time when railway receipts were at a decidedly low ebb and the dividends on shares much reduced, therefore under relatively favorable conditions for the Government. The general, though not universal, method adopted was to exchange the shares at an agreed amount for obligations of the 4 per cent. (some, later on, of the 3½ per cent.) Consolidated Debt, all liabilities and debentures

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(mostly at 5, 4½ and 4 per cent.) of the companies being taken over by the Government under the already existing conditions as to interest, notice of withdrawal and re-payment. In time, however, these Debentures, in so far as the agreements permitted, were converted into State Loans. Neither the old nor the new Railway Debts come under any special heading in the Prussian State Debt, but as the expenses for the State Railways were for the most part defrayed by the issue of consols—first at 4, then at 3½ and 3 per cent.—the total Consolidated Debt was naturally very much increased.

The rise in quotations during the eighties and nineties made conversions and a reduction of interest feasible, to the Prussian as to the Imperial Government. A beginning was made in 1885, when, without the slightest hitch, the interest on the old Consolidated Debt of 1869, which through further issue had risen to 545,750,000 marks, was reduced from 4½ to 4 per cent. as soon as the term arrived at which the Government was entitled to give notice of re-payment.

In the same year, the interest on the Railway Debentures—mostly at 5 and 4½ per cent.—was reduced to 4 per cent., to the amount of one milliard marks without, for the moment, converting the debentures into consols. This conversion took place in 1889 and 1890, the interest being reduced at the same time to 3½ per cent.; in 1897 there came a further reduction—from September 1st, 1897—of the old Consolidated 4 per cent. Debt and also of the newly issued 4 per cent. Consolidated Debt (chiefly raised for the purchase of the private railways) to 3½ per cent., to the extent of 3,589,800,000 marks. By reason of the then prevailing state of the money-market and the level of quotations, this operation was easily accomplished, and the Government relieved of close upon 18,000,000 marks in charges for interest. The Government has guaranteed, however, not to give notice of re-payment or further reduce the 3½ per cent. interest on this Consolidated Debt before April 1st, 1905. But since 1898 and 1899, the state of the money-market and the quotations have not been so satisfactory.

The intimate connection between the Prussian State Debt and the extension of the State Railway System inevitably called for special legislative regulations. It became obvious that the Debt, which was now practically a Railway Debt, must be reduced and

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the railways converted by degrees into a free asset, like the domains and forests, unburdened by a Debt, so that greater freedom might be gained in the tariff policy of the railways. By the law of March 27th, 1882, the capital sum of the State Debt up to April 1st, 1880, was fixed at 1,498,858,100 marks, and the whole of it considered as originating in the State Railways, which to all intents and purposes was the case. Under the denomination of the "State Railways Capital Debt" this sum was now charged to the State Railways and the interest fixed at 63,914,324 marks. It was settled at the same time—always supposing no fresh legislative measures should be passed meanwhile—that any new Debts arising out of the Railway Credits or Railway Debentures taken over by the Government, should, after April 1st, 1880, be added to the Railway Capital Debt, but that the legal charge for sinking fund should be deducted from it. Any surplus in hand at the end of the year was to be applied after April 1st, 1881, first to the interest on the Railway Debt, then, if need be, to covering any deficit in the Government's home accounts, and finally to re-payment of the Railway Debt itself. These amounts have been regularly written off ever since, the State Railways standing in consequence at a much lower valuation on the Government books. But an actual amortization of the Debt has occurred only to a much smaller degree. This was the fault of the Law of 1880. The large surpluses of the State Railways have gone, for the most part, to cover various Government expenses for which otherwise loans would have had to be raised.

The great financial advantage of nationalizing the railways was, however, that in the surplus of these railways Prussia obtained the wherewithal to meet very large expenses without having recourse to increased taxation. This circumstance goes far to explain the low rate of taxation in Prussia and the German Empire, in spite of the great increase in their respective expenditure. Thus—a point to be noted by social politicians—in Germany the State, and not private shareholders, draws the large revenues accruing from the railways.

The three-fourths of one per cent. amortization or deduction from the Railway Debt, in accordance with the law of 1882, amounted in the seventeen years between 1882 and 1899 to 687,600,000 marks. The nationalization of the railways had, in spite of the saving effected by the subsequent reduction in the rate of

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interest, swelled the Prussian State Debt to such an extent that this merely budgetary amortization, by writing off the amounts from the Railway Debt capital, was very properly deemed entirely inadequate. The interest-bearing State Debt had risen from 921 millions in 1875-6, to 1,395 millions in 1880-81, 2,640 in 1883-4, 4,457 in 1889-90, up to which time the major portion of the debentures of the nationalized companies still stood on the accounts of the Railway Administration. After the conversion of these debentures into consols, and the transfer of nearly all not yet converted debentures to the State Debt Administration (April 1st, 1891) the Debt rose, 1891-92, to 5,835,000,000 marks with 18,460,000 marks annual sinking fund, and again, 1897-98, to 6,498,000,000 marks. An actual amortization of the capital only occurred in the case of the few loans which were redeemable and not yet converted into consols; besides this the amortization of the Railway Debentures was carried out as per agreement.

But this did not suffice to bring about a really effectual diminution in the capital of the debt. To this end a law was passed (March 8th, 1897) making amortization compulsory for the Budget. It was decided that for the year April 1st, 1897-98, at least one-half per cent. and for the following years at least three-fifths per cent. of the State Debt capital should be cleared off, a deduction of the amount from the newly-issued loans to be considered equal to amortization. To those half and three-fifths per cent. sinking funds are reckoned the sums already paid off systematically, or in accordance with legislative measures. Moreover, any surplus in the Government Budget was no longer to be accounted as revenue for the coming year, but to be applied to further amortization or as deductions from issued loans. This plan has been adhered to ever since. Nevertheless, seeing that the Prussian State Debt partakes so largely of the character of a Railway Debt, it would seem in every way desirable to increase the amount of these amortizations, the great surpluses from the railways providing ample means.

The sum required for interest does not come to nearly one-half of the annual surplus from the State Railways—half a milliard marks; to which may be added another surplus of about 74,000,000 marks from the State Domains, Forests and Mines which is more than sufficient to cover the interest on Prussia's share in the German National Debt. The total sinking fund for

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1900 amounts to 39,550,000 marks which is also easily covered by the railway surplus. It follows, therefore, that Prussia need not apply one penny of her taxes to her State Debt—a wonderfully gratifying piece of "State socialism."

This being the favorable financial position of the German Empire, Prussia and the other German States, there would be no difficulty in providing for a much greater outlay on the Army and Navy and yet leaving enough to cover the most exorbitant demands of the Civil Administration without having recourse to over-burdening taxation.

The methods employed in the administration of the Prussian State Debt are practically identical with those of the Empire, and a "Book of the Debt" was instituted as far back as 1883. The management is in the hands of a special office, the "Central Administration of the State Debt," and the Parliamentary control is exercised by a State Debt Commission, composed in part of members of both Houses of the Diet. The administrative expenses in 1900 were 1,010,032 marks, to which the Empire contributes 126,800 marks for the administration of the Imperial Debt; the fees in connection with the entries into the State Debt Book come to 47,300 marks.

In this category of the State Debt must be included annuities, amounting in all to 1,443,650 marks a year in connection with charges on real estate. With the addition of this sum, the total annual charges of the Prussian State Debt amount to 272,751,506 marks.

This sum, and consequently that of the State Debt itself, is, however, somewhat increased by the inclusion of certain liabilities which belong neither to the Budget of the State Debt nor to that of the Central Administration. Thus the Budget of the State Railways is debited with a sum of 286,078 marks in interest, and 241,922 marks sinking fund on a 4½ per cent. loan taken over by Prussia with the acquisition of the Brunswick Railway, as also (in connection with this Railway) with an annuity of 2,625,000 marks to the Duchy running till 1932. With these sums and further smaller items, another 3,150,000 marks is added to the annual charges of the State Debt and a corresponding increase in the capital sum.

Again, liabilities occur in various other departments of the Administration which may, broadly speaking, be reckoned in

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the State Debt. In the Budget of the Ministry of Finance, for instance, there are various time and life annuities (2,418,000 marks in 1900) mostly as indemnities to certain Princes and repsentative peers; then, in the Domains and Forests Department, there are various Redemption Funds amounting to about 1,500,000 marks and smaller items in certain other departments. Therefore, reckoning all these liabilities at 150 to 160 million marks, they raise the capital sum of the State Debt to about 6,750,000,000 marks, and its annual charges to about 276,250,000 marks. Not that this affects the general aspect of the Debt, similar liabilities outside the actual National Debt occurring in other countries likewise.

To sum up then: Prussia's State Debt, including her share in the Imperial Debt, amounted for the year 1900 to about 8,200,000,000 marks, entailing an outlay of about 321,000,000 marks (not reckoning the sinking fund of the Imperial Debt). That is to say, it represents about 244 marks of capital and 9.5 marks of annual charges per head of the population, against 314 marks and 12.5 marks in Great Britain, and 629 marks and 21.2 marks in France. But, in these latter countries, both the interest and the re-payment of the Debt have to come almost entirely out of the pockets of the people; whereas in Prussia, as in the whole of Germany, this is entirely achieved by the surplus from the State Railways and other Government property—a surplus so large that it suffices besides to cover nearly half the expenditure for the Army and Navy, so that only the other half and the charges of the Civil Administration have to be provided for out of the taxes.

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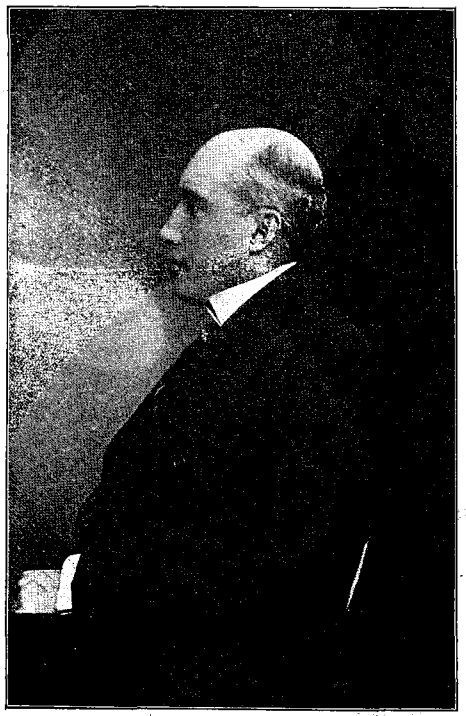

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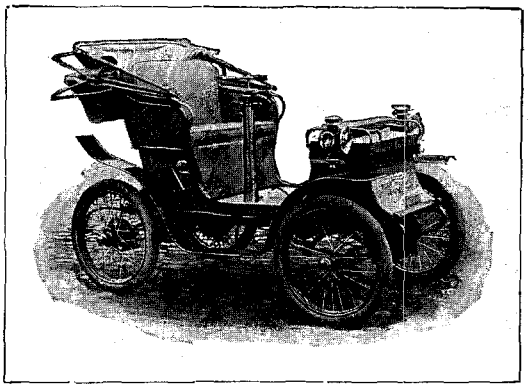

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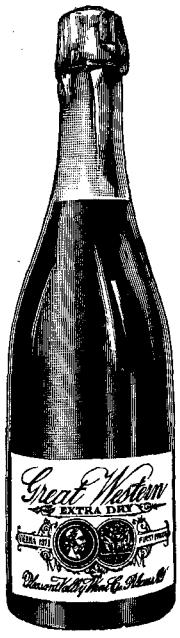

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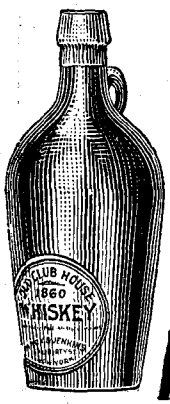

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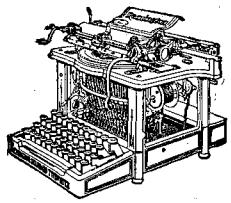

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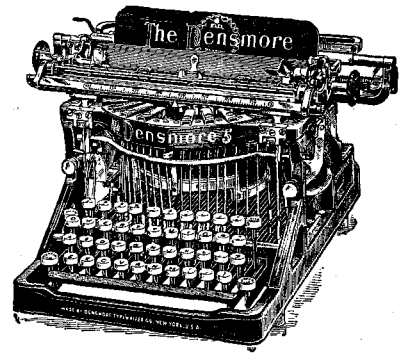

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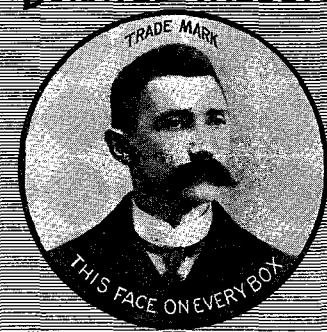

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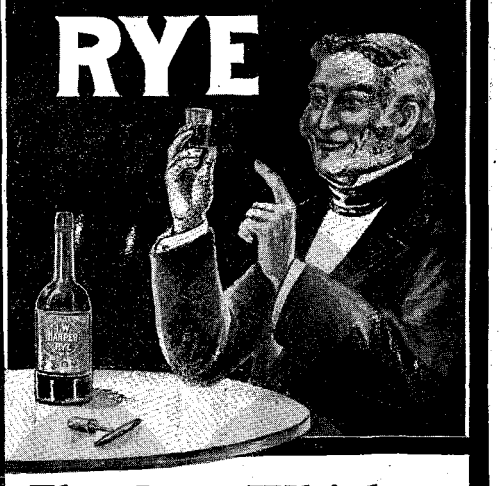

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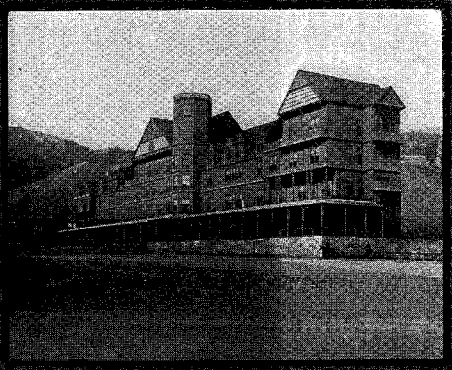

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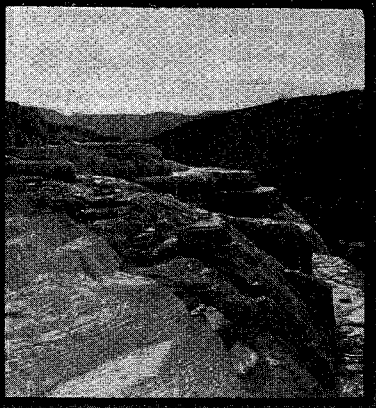

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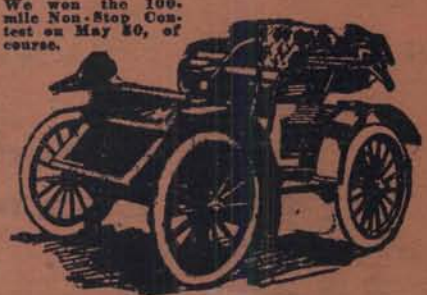

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